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AGGRESSIVE
COMMON-SENSE,

OR

Rights of American Workers

In the Dawn of the Twentieth Century.

"The birth of a new idea has ever terrified the men who have disowned it an opposition to their principles and position. These have ever sought to put it down by cunning and deception; they conceal their hate under the profession of love; like Judas, they kiss to betray."

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E. E. HARDING,
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AGGRESSIVE COMMON SENSE

CONCERNING MUTUAL INTERESTS
AND RELATIONS OF AMERICAN

FARMERS AND WAGE-EARNERS

VS

PRIVATE MONOPOLY AND TRUSTS,

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OR

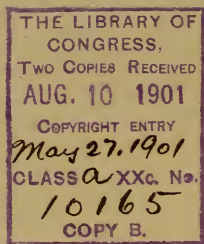
RIGHTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

IN THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

✓ BY
E. E. HARDING.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Undoubtedly, true classic students and writers will place no less value upon the merits of this work, because of the untutored and unpolished diction, and other people whose purpose is to figure out the TRUTH, will hardly criticise the style of expression.

“Let us continually bear in mind that prejudice is a sign of weakness,” and that, “If you know but one side of a question, then you are only half posted. Get all the facts obtainable, then draw your own conclusions.”

Again, “Read, not to contradict and confute, neither to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.”

It is without claiming full originality for the materials in this pamphlet, that I submit the same to the public. And I trust to the public intelligence for an eventual vindication of this work and also of my claim to having avoided all unwarranted assertions and catch-phase sophistries and diligently sought to present, in lecture form, a fair and impartial array of plain facts in support of the rights of American workers.

E. E. HARDING.

CHAPTER I.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

"Perhaps the sentiments" of the proposed evening's discourse" are not YET sufficiently fashionable to secure them general favor. " It has been truly said that, "A habit of not thinking a thing WRONG, gives it a superficial appearance of being RIGHT, and raises at FIRST a formidable outcry in defense of custom ;" notwithstanding the unfair, dishonest and unjust conditions which may attend such custom.

"It is easy to mistake a custom," or habit, "for nature and inherited prejudice for morality. "

"If we were to eradicate from our beliefs, all the errors that inheritance and environments have given us, it would be hard to guess how many of our existing dogmas would still remain. "

We know that in the past, custom, or established sentiment, has decreed many things good and many things bad, according to the whim of time and place. We have been taught how old-time custom upheld and sustained the once so-called "Devine Rights of Kings."

Even not much prior to the American revolution, the idea that the common people had certain inherent rights, to obtain which a resort to many bloody conflicts would be justifiable, was confined to a few advanced thinkers.

The then supposed supreme duty of the people was to submit their temporal welfare to the exactions of the king and their spiritual welfare to the caprices of the priest, pope and bishop. But the tyranny of such superstitions is largely becoming, we hope, a thing of the past.

Again, we have been taught, and in a sense quite to our humiliation, how our forefathers' religion was fraught with the hideous doctrines of witchcraft; and scarcely more than a generation ago, we—yes, we American people as a nation fostered and protected as a divine and religious proposition that institution which was known as chattel slavery—the buying and selling of our fellow men!

Now, then, ladies and gentlemen, I claim, and I am sure you will all agree with me, that any habitual abuse of power and authority, in whatever manner, is an urgent occasion for calling the right of them in question.

And my friends, as an organized privileged class are with a hitherto unprecedented haste and by unjust and dishonest means of pools, trusts or combines and other monopoly, here in America, gaining possession and control of great and unwarranted aggregations of wealth, together with the unfair and unjust commercial, industrial, and also political power which attends the possession of such vast wealth; and as the great and good common people of this country

are grievously oppressed by such combinations any monopoly, "it is their right, it is their duty," to reject any and every usurpation.

Why, my fellow citizens—you workers, you wage-laborers and you farmers, you who comprise the only honestly useful intellectual and manual toilers of field, factory and office—you, my friends, are the PRODUCERS, the real and ONLY producers of food, clothing and shelter. Barring the bounties of nature, YOU ARE THE CREATORS OF ALL CAPITAL, YOU ARE THE PRODUCERS OF ALL WEALTH! YOU HOUSE, CLOTHE AND FEED EVERYBODY!

Without your patient industry and enterprise, the privileged classes would cease to play with games they are now playing.

It is not only yourselves that you feed, but you also feed an indolent privileged class. And while in many cases, perhaps, it is not any too good that you clothe yourselves, you clothe the privileged drones very nicely.

While you may house yourselves in humble cottages, you provide the millionaire a mansion, and you furnish all the servants and luxuries and fineries for the millionaires.

YES, YOUR LABOR WITH THE AID OF NATURE FURNISHES THEM ALL!

And you people who with nature's aid are the producers of all wealth and capital, should unite for the purpose of gaining control of the powers of government, which powers are now controlled by the wealthier, or privileged class of capitalists, the capitalists who are in possession and control of such public utilities as the great coal and iron mines, the oil wells, railways, telegraphs, manufacturing plants, etc.

This capitalist class have also largely under their control the American press and other means of communicating ideas—many of the most talented orators and writers, whose

services and influence can very easily be and generally are enlisted on the side of the men with million-dollar pocket books; and they are using such means to mislead the producers, the creators of wealth, that they (the greater capitalists) may appropriate to their own use, to their own benefit, or enjoyment, the CREAM of the wages and products of the farmers and wage-workers.

Moreover, these capitalists seek to keep the great body of American workers—these capitalists seek QUITE EFFECTUALLY to keep the masses divided, estranged, and fighting each other. Very able and influential newspapers and orators may tell the farmers that the laborer who strikes for higher wages for the purpose of freeing himself from the ban of monopoly or the extortions of the trust, is seeking to rob the farmer. Again they tell the city worker, factory hand, miner, etc., that the “Alliance,” or “Grange” farmer is in league with the capitalist to enslave labor.

Some of the city wage-earners are even led to believe that many of our western or southern farmers are becoming bloated millionaires.

When the common people, the masses, are thus deceived and therefore prone to fight each other, the capitalists can—materially speaking—continue to pick the pockets of both you farmers and us wage-workers.

Unless we all fight together and against the common enemy, we shall continue as the servants of these strong capitalists—the privileged millionaire capitalists who, being very much in control of our government, and quite naturally looking to their own interests, are strongly induced to manipulate legislation in their OWN interest, for their OWN benefit and protection and at OUR expense.

Their favorite legislation quite naturally aims toward “a feast for them and a famine for us.” Yet they rarely

bear their share of the BURDENS of government. That is, they very rarely pay their just proportion of taxes; but, on the contrary, they may tax us at their own pleasure, so long as they hold the reins of government.

Now, then, my friends, we all understand that WELL or JUSTLY paid factory workmen, mill hands, coal miners, etc., MAKE of such men liberal purchasers and consumers of the farmers' surplus products. And this means better prices and more prosperous farmers, which farmers in turn, will and must be more liberal purchasers of the city workmen's and merchants' goods.

In short, the interests of the wage-earner and the interests of the farmer, who I believe generally is himself a useful worker—I say, my friends, that from an economical and political standpoint, the interests of these two men are identical.

We know it is an old and time-honored adage, that, "When labor is well-fed the farmer prospers." And so it is so. Farming is a success only as labor succeeds.

But with the average millionaire capitalists, with the great railway kings and trust magnates, it is a very different question.

Such fellows, to be sure, do a great deal of shrewd, cunning, hard-headed scheming and conniving. But as a rule they perform not so much honestly useful and productive labor, either mental or manual.

For the most part, their toil, if we may so call it, is of the dishonest (though law-sanctioned) non-productive kind, which, instead of being useful and beneficial, is obstructive, detrimental and injurious to the general welfare of society.

Speaking from the standpoint of honesty, integrity and usefulness, the average millionaire toils not.

Yet they secure to themselves most bountiful harvests,

by means of the results of poorly fed and miserably clad labor and by the various indirect means of trust and monopoly power for fleecing the farmer.

The dangerous classes of this country are not, as the trust-and-monopoly-influenced-press would lead us to believe, the poor ignorant people who have been placed in their dependent, humiliating, and therefore degenerating and debasing circumstances, largely as a result of the doings of monopolies and trusts!

The real dangerous classes are the people who institute combines, etc., for the purpose of dishonestly raising the prices of the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, etc.; and lock the workmen out of employment, keep them poor and dependent: and then subsidize newspapers, colleges, churches, orators, writers, and political parties and their leaders, to condone their wholesale law-sanctioned robbery and advertise them as philanthropists.

This thing of exacting from the masses millions of wealth, as the cunning monopoly kings are doing, and then returning as a present (?) to the public a small fraction of the same, becomes, when the mask is removed, a rather new and inconsistent kind of charity.

It is too much like stealing a man's best suit of clothes, in the night when he is asleep, and then going back in the daylight to present him with a new necktie, new collar and cuffs, or something of that kind.

Surely, all rational and fair-minded people must conclude, upon deliberate investigation, that when a man secures possession of millions, he is acquiring what does not and cannot really belong to him. He is acquiring possession of wealth which in truth belongs to other people, wealth which is the fruits of other people's toil.

And it cannot be the ultimate aim of honest thrift, nor

in keeping with duty, honesty, or good citizenship, for a man to strive through means of cunningly devised methods to acquire and retain possession of anything like a million.

Suppose there were one hundred men on an isolated island, and every one diligently at work, each producing one thousand dollars worth of wealth per year over and above enough to supply his wants in the meantime. Under such conditions every man could save one thousand dollars per year, and, at the end of ten years the one hundred men would each have laid up for a "rainy day," or old age, ten thousand dollars; or the one hundred men would possess in the aggregate a million dollars worth of wealth. And then there would be no millionaire and no paupers.

In order for one of them to become a millionaire in the ten years, he must devise some crafty means of appropriating for himself ALL the hard-earned savings of all the other ninety-nine men—leaving ninety-nine paupers to attend upon and serve the one famous and honorable (?) millionaire.

Such a wise man COULD WELL afford to donate a share of his great possessions to benevolent and charitable institutions which might falsely advertise him as a public benefactor.

It requires not so very much figuring and calculating to show how a great many of the workers are CHEATED, every time any one man acquires a million.

And it is not the part of good government to even tolerate, much less to foster and protect, any one man in the possession of a million of wealth—such vast wealth! which, as can be easily demonstrated, he cannot truly own, but which he has, by means of his cunning schemes, simply confiscated from the people whose hard-earned and too patient labor produced the same, and who are therefore its real honest owners.

So far as government aids and protects the immensely rich, in plundering and despoiling the masses by means of combines and monopolies, in that respect it is the rule of tyranny; and the millionaire manipulator of the monopoly or trust, is one of the tyrants.

The usual methods of hoarding millions and adding to the same are but avaircious methods of the modern tyrant. As we have seen, all is simply taking and withholding wealth from its real owners, from the people by whose labor it was produced!

Owing to the changed conditions; i. e., the various industries of the country being centralized and monopolized into fewer and fewer hands, many men who might very easily have succeeded a few years ago, cannot succeed in business today.

When a government condones and defends such conditions in which a few millionaire tyrants pursue their common practice of crushing out business competitors, monopolizing the greater, or leading opportunities in business, and depriving the workers either directly or indirectly of a large percentage of the fruits of their toil; that government is thereby crippling, discouraging and crushing out that general thrift, ambition and industry, together with the attendant love of country, or patriotism, upon which the very safety and progress of the country depend.

And to the extent that either the acts or the omissions of the government tend toward discouraging the ambition and thrift of the common useful toilers, to that extent the government becomes responsible for the resulting widespread discontent, indolence, and vagrancy which must almost necessarily be quite frequently associated with strikes, mob-law and violence.

In looking over the history of past nations, we learn that,

as the wealth of a nation became centralized into fewer and fewer hands, there were fewer and fewer good citizens, and more and more of the marauding type.

Not possessing any wealth, and there being no fair and just privileges or opportunities to labor and produce an honorable livelihood, under protection of the government, the masses gradually lost all respect for the laws of their country, and, as a consequence of such conditions, patriotism became, first a dying principle, and at last an unknown principle.

THUS WITH THE CENTRALIZATION OF WEALTH, AND THE CONSEQUENT DECLINE OF PATRIOTISM AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP, GOVERNMENT DEGENERATED INTO A STATE OF CHOAS.

For the past fifty years, the United States has followed rapidly in the footsteps of fallen nations.

In 1850 what we call "capitalists" controlled three-eighths of the nation's wealth.

In 1870 they controlled five-eighths; and in 1890 two per cent of the population controlled seven-tenths of the nation's entire wealth. Chancy Depew says that fifty men control the finances of this country and dictate its legislation.

If this be true, what of American liberty?

CHAPTER II.

Every man has the inherent and inalienable right to work under conditions and opportunities equal to those of every other man, but he never can exercise and enjoy the same so long as great corporations possess and control the opportunities.

Many writers of today declare that the state of the heathen savage is happier than that of his so-called "civilized brother."

They claim that while the savage has fewer things, fewer comforts, he also has fewer wants and in his primitive state he is free, as compared with his more burdened, careworn and therefore distressed brother.

The modern civilized man finds his wants and needs ever increasing, while the growing power of the privileged classes is making it more and more difficult for him to supply those wants.

With only a moderate amount of toil the people of today could, under just conditions, produce all that they actually need to maintain themselves in health, comfort and happiness; and yet, among the very savages there are not so very many, IF ANY, more dying with maladies resulting from cold and hunger than there are among the poor people of

such large cities as New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

And one faction tells us that the unfortunate circumstances of these poor people is caused, in many instances, by "over-production," while there is another school which is pronouncing it "under-consumption."

Do people at times work so hard and faithful and produce so much that they must go hungry as a consequence?

If they had labored less and produced less, would they then have a plenty; or do people die of hunger because they will not eat?

Wild beasts succeed, you know, in securing the food and shelter THEY need unless they come in conflict with other and stronger beasts; or when their numbers become too great for the resources from which they gain their living.

Is this the trouble with men? Are there too many of us?

Hardly any thoughtful person will say this is the case in the United States, a country which Talmage says is capable of supplying a plenty for twelve hundred million people, nearly twenty times our present population.

Surely, with all the wonderful machines and advantages of co-operation in work; with the railroads, steamships and telegraphs, to bring persons and things together from all parts of the earth; we should easily produce many times more than our forefathers could. So we should have and enjoy many times more of the comforts and good things of life; and NO ONE should lack for ANYTHING except those people—among whom are to be found not a few millionaires—who will not do honest, useful work.

"He that will not willingly work, and ONLY he, should not eat."

Turn to almost any article you will, made about a century ago for the comfort of man, and you find that, with the

aid of the labor-saving machinery available to-day, dozens of the same article are now made with no more effort.

Evidently a great many people never stop to think about this matter, and so they LITTLE realize how MUCH—under practical justice—should be done with the aid of the great inventions that were brought to light by nineteenth century genius.

The application of steam power had a wonderful influence on the commercial and industrial life. It was the forerunner of a vast number of labor-saving inventions, which have revolutionized human labor and very radically changed the conditions of the human race, as regards the relations of employee and employer.

The nineteenth century was a great era for solving the problem of producing wealth. And we now, no longer look to mere muscular power to cultivate the ground, harvest the crops with sicles, and make shoes, clothes, boards, nails and bricks by hand.

The individual hoe-maker has disappeared. The individual wagon-maker has disappeared. And so has the individual watch-maker disappeared. In fact individualism in production has almost entirely disappeared; the workers now-a-days being only PARTS OF MACHINES, and under existing conditions, when the work is done they have nothing further to do—as they once did—with the products or the PRICES of the same.

These changed conditions resulting, from the influence of invention, have brought us to new and seemingly perplexing problems, concerning which there are some very conflicting views.

As early as 1888 Dr. Talmage said in his "Pathway of Life" on page 113: "God will halt the inventive faculty, which by producing a machine that will do the work of ten

or twenty or one hundred men and women, will leave that number of people without work. I hope there will not be invented another sewing machine, or reaping machine, or corn thresher, or any other new machine for the next five hundred years. We want no more wooden hands, and iron hands, and electric hands substituted for men and women, who would otherwise do the work and get the pay and earn the livelihood."

Notwithstanding the great popularity of Mr. Talmage, I venture the assertion that his views will never meet with general favor.

However, the great preacher's opinion concerning this very serious economic question, is no more inconsistent and ridiculous than the "over-production" and "under-consumption" doctrines of some of the great (?) politicians.

CHAPTER III.

Now, then, my friends, some people tell us, with reason, that in all history down to the nineteenth century, the problem of poverty was, primarily, a problem of production.

And while it was rather difficult for our forefathers to make by hand enough things to supply their wants; they scarcely ever had any more miserable poverty to deal with than we now have in this day of labor-saving machinery. While we have learned how to produce a plenty very easily; some people would, so it seems, have us BELIEVE that we have not yet learned how NOT to produce too much—how to escape the so-called “over-production.”

As it seems to me, my friends, our unscientific system of distribution is the source of our difficulties. While we have mastered nature, harnessed steam, electricity, the cataracts and the winds, and thus acquired great skill in the art of producing; we have NOT made corresponding improvements in our system of distributing wealth.

We all know, as a matter-of-fact, that every few years there comes a time when a very large proportion of our industries are idle, when mills and factories by the hundreds are at a standstill; and while the store-houses and graneries are full thousands of workmen and their families are more

or less destitute, millions of people have too little food, clothing and shelter, to keep them reasonably comfortable and in good health.

Can this all be because there are too many mills, factories, mines, etc., and also because there are too many farms, farmers and wage-workers?

Or is it more because the workingman's wage is not sufficient to enable him to purchase, consume, and enjoy, the equivalent of the fruits of his toil?

And how can the workingman secure the fullest wage to which he is justly entitled?

Surely, neither the wage-earner nor the farmer can get his just deserts, so long as private corporations and trusts monopolize and control the great manufacturing and transportation industries. They cannot get their rights so long as the farmer has nothing to say concerning the prices he shall receive for his produce: nor so long as the wage-earner has no voice in fixing the price of his labor: while on the other hand, the trusts and monopolies charge the farmers and wage-workers as much as they please.

Under the existing system, the comparatively few possessors of the great machine-power shops, factories, mills, mines, transportation lines, etc., seemingly compel the wage-earners to work for them, and the farmers to sell to them their produce at such beggarly figures as they, the monopoly masters, see fit to dictate.

And, on the other hand, they generally charge the farmers and other workers the highest prices that it seems possible for them to pay.

At any rate, we know that the people who are doing the necessary and hard work have, as a rule, the fewest comforts.

In the great cities a large per cent of them cannot live

on the wages they receive, and must look to charity to keep them from starving and freezing. And at last when they depart this life, the public authorities must bury them in pauper's graves.

Such charity beneficiaries cannot, indeed, be very profitable customers for farm produce, groceries, dry goods, coal, etc.

And every recurring crisis means still more of these people to sup at the dregs of poverty!

And almost every new machine cripples the skill or trade of another class of workers, takes their jobs away from them, and in many cases virtually robs them of their means of gaining a livelihood.

You farmers say, and say truly, that, in order to compete, you must have the best up-to-date machinery.

When the reaper came to replace the cradle, you thought: "Now! the expenses in harvesting wheat will be much less, and the profits far greater!"

When the binder came to replace the reaper you probably thought the same: and you no doubt thought likewise concerning the mower, the horse-rake, the seeder, the drill, the gang-plow, and the thresher.

SURELY, farming ought to be many times more profitable today than when you harvested the grain with the cradle and threshed it out in the winter with the flail.

Yet, are the farmers very much more prosperous and happy now-a-days than they were in those so-called "good old days of the hand cradle and flail?" If not, WHO has been reaping the benefit from all this labor-saving machinery?

However it may be with you farmers and wage-workers, there is a class, A GROWN-TO-BE-VERY-PRIVILEGED-CLASS, which seems to have prospered amazingly.

Never in the world's history was there such a heaping together of great fortunes by rich men, corporations and trusts as at the present time. And never amid such plenty was there such want and suffering among the poor!

The influence of labor-saving machinery **SHOULD**, and under a just and scientific system of distributing wealth, i. e., the products of labor, we know it **WOULD** be a successful means by which **ALL** people would have a great many more and far greater opportunities and privileges, and afford themselves many times more comforts, pleasures and happiness than what were possible before this day of great and wonderful machinery.

Now, friends, I am not in the least disposed to clamor for generally leveling selfish equality. The one whose brain institutes and whose zeal and honestly earned and acquired capital—not, mind you, dishonest, watered capital, capital created from “wind” through means of cunning schemes and unscrupulous influence—but I say the one whose **HONEST** capital and brain carries forward an enterprise is entitled to his share of remuneration for the same. And the workmen who furnish the mental and manual skill and labor necessary to the carrying out of these plans, are also entitled to a fair and just remuneration for what they bring into the enterprise.

If this principle, the principle advocated in the much revered book, were carried out, there would be fewer great fortunes, and the poverty, privations and sufferings among the toilers of the earth would be for the most part unknown.

And there would be much less of the general denial of men's rights to the product of their labor, which proposition is in fact a denial of their right to be men and merely granting them the privilege to be part slave and only in part free men.

We should be uncompromisingly opposed to those principles of monopoly-influenced government which foster and protect the ingenious devices of great capitalists and employers for compelling the millions of hard-working, faithful and honest wage-earners and farmers to "divide up" the products of their toil with these greedy usurpers.

When the wage-earners are paid their fair proportion of what they produce and farmers receive the right prices for THEIR products, then there can be plenty in their homes and not so much of an over-supply ("over-production") in the wholesale and store-houses.

What we working people really want, is what of right belongs to us : no more, no less.

We want to be guaranteed in the possession and enjoyment of ALL that value which our labor produces or may produce with the unrestricted aid of the best modern skill and machinery.

As we workers can today produce many-fold more of the necessities and comforts of this life than ever before since history began, we could supply all our wants with only a fraction of our present toil were we not prevented from producing because we cannot secure access to the tools and machinery with which to work, or else largely deprived of the results of our toil by a privileged class of capitalists.

There is one remedy for this condition. It is for the toilers of field, workshop and office to unite and secure possession and control of the reins of government, then secure possession of the instruments of production and distribution ; and then being the possessors as well as the producers, they can retain the whole product and can produce till their wants are satisfied, with less care for falling or rising prices and the so-called "over-production" or panics.

THE RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS AND ELEVATORS ;

CREAMERIES, CHEESE FACTORIES, AND BINDER AND DRILL MANUFACTORIES, LIKE THE STEEL WORKS, COTTON MILLS, COAL MINES AND SHOE FACTORIES, SHOULD BE IN THE POSSESSION OF AND CONTROLLED BY THE COMMON-WEALTH.

They must be like the public highways and public schools, the United States mail industry and many municipal water-works, lighting plants, street cars, etc., in the possession of the public, the whole body of producers who are the only REALLY CONSISTENT and SUITABLE owners of such public utilities, and who must be organized for the purpose of controlling and operating them.

CHAPTER IV.

The previously mentioned propositions and demands, and the necessities, occasions and causes for the same were not so much in existence a few generations ago; but they have—as already intimated—largely materialized with the growth of modern machinery.

It must not be forgotten that the pulse and the pace of the world were marvelously quickened during the nineteenth century.

The larger proportion of civilized man's progress has been made since the application of the power of steam and electricity to travel, commerce, manufacturing, printing, etc. And the impetus which was given to inter-communication of every sort by the application of steam power alone, was the beginning of a new life in the world.

Although invented in the eighteenth century, the spinning wheel, the power loom, and Whitney's cotton-gin, did not come into common use until the nineteenth century. And at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, there were still in use, in both English and American homes, the same primitive means by which the world's wool and flax had been reduced to yarn for thousands of years; and the meth-

ods of travel and communication were just as primitive as those of manufacture.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, Lord Campbell, having accomplished the journey from Edinburgh to London in three days and three nights, was warned by his most judicious friends—medical advisors—that such rapidity of motion would prove fatal to his life. Yet, in 1888, the same journey was made in seven hours and thirty-two minutes, the medical advisors notwithstanding.

In 1847 it took Dr. Atkinson eight months to travel from New England to Oregon. When he returned the journey occupied but six days.

When the battle of Waterloo was fought, (1815) all haste delivered the thrilling dispatches in London three days later.

The news of the bombardment of Fort Sumpter, (1861) was received in our national capital a few minutes after the first gun was fired.

“If there be yet living anyone who was born with the birth of the nineteenth century, he has seen a very large proportion of all the progress of civilization in the race.

When seven years old he might have seen Fulton’s steamboat on her trial trip up the Hudson.

Until twenty years of age he could not have found in all the world an iron plow.

At thirty he might have travelled on the first passenger train.

And he was thirty-eight before steam communication between Europe and America was established.”

And so we see that the nineteenth century was an epoch, as it were, for a raising flood of inventions—INVENTIVE MACHINERY !

And almost every invention has created NEW SITUA-

TIONS, NEW CONDITIONS, NEW CIRCUMSTANCES ! But there has been wanting that requisite nimble-mindedness to institute new principles of government, to fit, to conform to, or keep pace with, the thus changed conditions and circumstances

In other words, statesmanship has been somewhat outstripped by inventive genius.

When our forefathers framed our national constitution, the foundations of the republic, they sought to lay such foundation principles as would guarantee to all its citizens equal opportunities in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

For instance, among the many questions which they had to consider was one of a mail system : and while there was among them a Tory faction which favored leaving the mail industry, the establishing and maintaining of postoffices, to private enterprise, to the management and control of private individuals, or private corporations ; the majority statesmanship of that day said, "No !"

And, quite properly, the mail business was declared a natural monopoly, a power over the masses which should never be given over to the relentless manipulations of greedy capitalists and combines. No man was ever to become a millionaire in this business. And as a means of securing equal privileges, equal opportunities to all, and special privileges to none, it was decreed that, "Congress shall have power to establish post-offices and post-roads."

But Madison, Hamilton, Washington, Robert Morris and their associates, knew not of the nineteenth century's steam and electricity, and the part they were to play in economics. In fact, these fathers of the republic could scarcely even dream of our modern gigantic labor-saving machinery and its radical influence upon the relations be-

tween employers and employees. Hence, the fathers did not make—they could not make any definite or specific provisions for regulating and correcting such evils as were to attend these new conditions which have resulted from the influences of machine inventions.

Now, then, I am aware that there are those who will attempt to refute these statements, basing their argument upon the grounds that the Constitution provides for patent-right laws, etc., etc. This provision of the Constitution, providing for patent-right laws is in the following language:

“THE CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE AND USEFUL ARTS, BY SECURING FOR LIMITED TIMES TO AUTHORS AND INVENTORS THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO THEIR RESPECTIVE WRITINGS AND DISCOVERIES.”

There is nothing in this clause of the Constitution that either indicates or implies that Congress was to have power to enact patent laws that would be instrumental in propagating monopolies and trusts to the injury of “THE GENERAL WELFARE.” On the contrary, “TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE AND USEFUL ARTS,” is the plainly avowed purpose for which Congress was granted power to secure “for limited times to inventors the exclusive right to their discoveries.”

From this we see that the purpose of patent laws as authorized in the Constitution was purely, “TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE AND USEFUL ARTS,” and why was it designed, “TO PROMOTE THE PROGRES OF SCIENCE AND USEFUL ARTS?”

It certainly could not have been designed as a means to DETERIORATE “THE GENERAL WELFARE,” by fostering and protecting great monopolies and combines; because in the preamble of the Constitution itself, it is affirmed to be its

solemn purpose "TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE."

But, of this patent law question, I will speak a little more in detail later on.

It is, however, very evident that the "fathers" did not in the least anticipate the propagation of these present-day monopolies and trusts which would not have been possible were it not for the peculiar influences of the gigantic labor-saving machinery, the magnitude of which the "fathers" had no conception or forethoughts.

Those principles of government bequeathed to us by our forefathers, were, under the conditions and circumstances which then existed, fairly effectual in excluding or prohibiting the evils of monopoly or tyranny and establishing fair and reasonable justice. But under the present day conditions, so very different from those of our "fathers" those principles of government, once so complete, are now very incomplete and wholly inadequate to maintain fair justice and protect the masses against the encroachments of cunning schemers and organized wealth. Quite the contrary of original intent, this government, as formed by our "fathers," is being used and misused to help build up and defend the grossest injustice of monopoly and tyranny.

These new conditions, as before stated, have been creeping upon us—mostly as a result of machine inventions.

Among the far reaching influences of labor-saving inventions has been the tendency—which is as yet unchecked—to heighten differences of condition, to establish social classes, and to erect barriers between them. Never before in this country were class distinctions so great as they are today. Compare the conditions and privileges of the child who is born and reared in the slums of the great cities with those of the child that is born on "Fifth Avenue," the "Lake Shore Drive," or "Nob Hill."

Yet, "All men are created equal." Of coarse classes will and must exist, in a sense, wherever there are semblances and differences; and so long as the individual members of the different classes may easily rise or fall from one to the other, by virtue of their own efforts, such classes are neither unsafe nor unrepublican. But when the classes with their class distinctions become hereditary, when the differences, the special privileges, the opportunities and the DENIED OPPORTUNITIES with their attending envy, want, and squalor, all are inherited, and the antipathies are thus increased and strengthened; the gulf between the classes is then widened, and they harden into hereditary casts which are both unrepublican and dangerous.

Now then, that the tendency of machine inventions, under our present system of commercial and industrial warfare, is to separate the classes more widely and to render them hereditary, cannot be reasonably denied.

Before the age of machinery, master journeyman and apprentice worked together, side by side, on familiar terms. The apprentice looked forward to the time when he should receive a journeyman's wages, and the journeyman might reasonably hope some day to have a shop of his own. Under these conditions, there was comparatively little opportunity to develop wide class distinctions and jealousies.

Tools were not so expensive but that the workman might easily possess a full outfit of his own; and if he did not like his employer he could leave him, taking with him the means of earning a livelihood; and if he did not easily find another employer, he could somewhere set up business for himself. And this single fact of the workman's having his own tools made him quite independent.

But the introduction of machinery has changed all this. It cannot be carried from place to place—the machinery

cannot—as could the kit of tools. It is too expensive for the ordinary workman to possess; and without the machinery which the employer controls, the workman is helpless. He (the present day workman) cannot—alone by himself—produce or make goods with hand-made tools and so engage in business as was done a few generations ago. He does not know how, and it would be very difficult for him to learn; because there is scarcely anyone, if any at all, to teach him—his forefathers' methods of doing work by hand, being to a very large extent among the “LOST ARTS.” So all people today are virtually dependent upon the great machinery which is controlled by a comparatively few privileged persons.

And if the workman of today finds himself out of a job, he cannot set up business for himself as his forefathers could have done.

HE HAS LOST THAT BLESSED PRIVILEGE!

HE HAS LOST THAT INDEPENDENCE!

And he has become a member of that vast and increasing army of dependent wage-workers, or “wage-slaves,” which has thus been developed by the innovation of machinery.

The advent of machinery has rendered it vastly more difficult to RISE (under the present system) from the condition of an employee to that of an employer, thus separating these classes more widely and more permanently. Once they were comparatively only a step apart. And that step could be very easily taken by one workman employing another—a, perhaps, younger man than himself. They could work along together, side by side, till the business demanded a new “hand,” and then another, and so on, until the little shop had grown into a large one. And in this way the workman could gradually acquire capital by a course that was open to everybody.

But in this age of steam and electric machinery—and with our present unscientific system of permitting the great manufacturing, transportation and communication enterprises and facilities to be possessed and controlled by private capitalists and corporations instead of by the public which should be the only agency for controlling and operating such public utilities—a considerable of (private) capital is needed in order to make a beginning in any one of these lines of industry. Hence, the smaller capitalists and in fact, all the common people, the really useful workers, are DEBARRED from the privilege and opportunity of engaging, independently and for themselves, in any of these lines of business.

So the millionaire class of capitalists are ABSOLUTE rulers in these very important industries.

But let the masses organize and secure the control of government, and then embark in these great business enterprises, as a government undertaking; then, all will share alike in the benefits from these great industries, and the millionaire will be MINUS many of his present games for “plucking the common toilers.”

At the present the great railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., are natural private monopolies, very much like the wagon roads were when THEY were possessed and controlled by private individuals instead of by the public, and as it was with schools when all were select or private schools in lieu of our present-day public schools.

And, again, we find that, other things being equal, the small factory, railway or mine, or in fact, the small industry of almost any kind cannot compete with the larger one. Hence, great fortunes are amassed or combined for establishing factories, railways, and other enterprises upon a very large and extensive scale.

The larger factory or other industry "freezes out" the smaller one, drives the smaller capitalist out of business and in many cases into bankruptcy. Then the great factory has a monopoly of the field, is master of the situation, and CAN and DOES establish exorbitant prices; and we people must pay these dishonest and extortionate prices or do without a great many of the common everyday necessities.

Yes, these great "PRIVATE MONOPOLIES ARE INDEFENSIBLE AND INTOLFRABLE. THEY DO "DESTROY COMPETITION AND CONTROL THE PRICES OF ALL MATERIAL AND FINISHED PRODUCTS, THUS ROBBING THE PRODUCER AND COMSUMER." THEY DO "LESSEN THE EMPLOYMENT OF LABOR AND ARBITRARILY FIX THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS THEREOF," AND THEY DO "DEPRIVE INDIVIDUAL ENERGY AND SMALL CAPITAL OF THEIR OPPORTUNITY FOR BETTERMENT. THEY ARE THE MOST EFFICIENT MEANS YET DEVISED FOR APPROPRIATING THE FRUITS OF INDUSTRY TO THE BENEFIT OF THE FEW AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MANY," AND, UNLESS THEY ARE "CONVEYED INTO THE HANDS OF THE COMMONWEAL, ALL WEALTH WILL BE AGGREGATED INTO A FEW HANDS AND THE REPUBLIC DESTROYED!"

Under the present system, although the workman by some clever invention of his own, or some remarkably superior abilities, or some happy streak of luck, MAY possibly become a capitalist and an employer, the odds are most seriously against him.

The condition of the average workman is separated from that of his employer by an ALMOST impassable gulf.

Machinery has tended to create a class of capitalists and monopolists on one side and wage-slaves on the other.

Before the day of this machinery, manufacturing power, as well as the power for transportation, etc., etc., was in the

workmen's own hands. They controlled it then—the workmen did, and it could not be monopolized and centralized away from them as it now is.

Every man, THEN, had a fair chance to compete with every other man; and no one could exercise any such unjust and immeasurable advantages as the privileged classes, the millionaire classes, are perpetrating now-a-days.

But modern machinery, under the present system, permits one man to acquire possession and control of a power equal to that of thousands of other men.

The very fact that forces of such magnitude are available to the manipulations of some avaricious men who are seemingly drunk with a thirst for plunder and power, MAKE the concentration of wealth and its attendant powers both CERTAIN and DANGEROUS.

The masters of these forces are TOO frequently the NEROS and HERODS of modern society.

The employer in a monopoly-industry is not a workman among his employees.

His work is not so much manual but more mental, and diversified, and while it exercises and develops all of his abilities; the work of his employees being classified into special routines tends to cramp all of their faculties.

He has but very little personal acquaintance with his employees; and, with very rare exceptions, he has no personal interest in their welfare.

He knows that any time he so chooses he may dispense with any one or all of them, and recruit their places from the ranks of those unemployed who can find no better employment.

Thus, the classes are growing apart, notwithstanding the adage that, "Every change of conditions which tends to widen the differences between the classes and thus to impair

the sympathies between the rich and the poor cannot fail—however apparently beneficial its temporary effects—to bring with it sooner or later grave dangers to the state.”

And, my friends, as we all too well understand, not only are the classes now-a-days thus becoming further removed from each other, but they are becoming ORGANIZED against each other! Capital is combined in powerful corporations and trusts, and labor is organized in great trades-unions. And these opposing organizations make trials of strength, offer terms and conditions of surrender, like great hostile armies. And as is being demonstrated more and more, the first to fall in these great industrial and commercial battles, are always the poor, weak and less cunning—the helpless and innocent!

The labor unions cannot cope with these terrible corporations so long as they permit them to possess and control the greater avenues of industry, so long as they permit them to control such industries as are NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

With their wives and children threatened with destitution, the countless poor workmen are, sooner or later, compelled to submit. While waiting for a little time to force the poor workmen into submission, the millionaires may make a few pleasure excursions in “private palace cars,” which have been built and furnished by half-paid workmen.

But, “No!” Some people say: “The working-man does not have to submit to such beggarly wage-rates as the corporations have a mind to dictate, unless he so chooses.”

They tell us that, “the American is free.”

And that we must admit is somewhat true.

The American workman, like some others, has one alternative.

Instead of working for unreasonably poor pay, they can STARVE!

But will a starving miner, factory workman or mill-hand with his empty pocket-book, help out the prices of our American farmers' wheat and cotton ?

Do such conditions improve the market for our beef and pork, our butter and eggs ?

Or can these difficulties be soothed in any degree by an additional application of either the so-called "protective tariff," or "tariff for revenue ? "

I know not how SOME of you people may feel about it !

But, as it seems to me, than this question of so antagonizing the classes against each other, none greater could ever threaten the welfare and safety of a republic.

The existing conditions are, in the central localities, continually intensifying the differences between the classes ! The armies of unemployed are increasing from day to day ; from year to year ; and more and more are a great many people losing all due respect for law and order, and becoming imbued with that stealthy, secretly rising SENTIMENT OF ANARCHY !

The anarchist would have no law, no government, neither good nor bad ! It is evidently because he recognizes so many bad laws and not the good ones, that he believes any government is worse than no government !

Repeal bad law and enact good, and perhaps the poor anarchist will change his mind.

Little may we wonder at the terrible increase of CRIME !

In the midst of wealth and plenty, with the gifts of nature everywhere in abundance, and with mills, mines and factories closed down because of a so-called "over-production ;" there are great numbers of would-be faithful, industrious EVERY-DAY-WORKERS who are in enforced idleness, and as a consequence they have not and cannot get the food and clothing which they deserve and which is in all honor due them !

Again, I ask, is it because there is so much food and clothing in the country that there is so much gaunt want and unrequited toil?

"The heart and brain of every honest man **MUST** tell him that somewhere something is wrong."

"**LABOR PRODUCES WEALTH!**"

CAPITALISTS GET THE BEST OF IT.

Capital robs labor through the force of combination, through the power of the monopoly and trust.

While the masses are doing the work, the trusts and corporations are collecting the better per centage of their wages. And the great wealth which the millionaires have so dishonestly acquired is being held more sacred than human life.

"The immensely rich claim the right to combine but deny the same right to the poor. They meet in banks, club-houses and parlors to consult and exchange ideas. The poor meet in the streets for the same purpose," and they are not only denounced as a public nuisance, but they have been **MURDERED** outright by Hazelton's deputies!

The corporations cut down wages to poverty-reducing figures and call it "**BUSINESS**"—"the right of capital to manage its own affairs!"

Labor combines to resist such oppression, and their organization is declared a criminal conspiracy!

Should the organization prove effectual, it is called a mob, and troops at the bidding of capital from Pullman-town or elsewhere, **SHOOT** the laborers down.

Capitalists as a rule are getting richer by co-operation and combination, while labor is in many cases growing poorer, and in **EVERY** case more **DEPENDENT** and **HELPLESS**.

Was ever a system of slavery more effectual?

If so, **IN WHAT RESPECT?**

The power of a monopoly or trust to SUPPRESS competition, LIMIT production, and fix UNFAIR and DISHONEST prices, is a power to ENSLAVE.

This is the power responsible for the unjust distribution of wealth.

This is the power which is making the few so unreasonably and intolerably rich and the many so cruelly poor.

"Whenever any combination, or trust, swallows up competition and sells to the public its products at prices that make millionaire stock-holders, those stock-holders become in part, slave-owners, and every purchaser of their goods becomes a slave!

In this power of the private monopolies and trusts to suppress competition, limit production, and fix dishonest and extortionate prices, is the whip and hound of modern slavery!

Too numerous to enumerate are the many trusts and monopolies that today hold the patient, honest producers of America in bondage!

"Their objects and purposes" MAY BE "everywhere the same."

"They" usually "rob the workers to feed the drones!"

"They punish honest industry and reward scheming indolence!"

In all common-sense-justice, the perpetrations of private monopolies and trusts are both tyrannical and criminal. No wonder the poor helpless workman loses respect for law and order and resorts to criminal means; when by taxing workingmen armies and navies are being equipped to protect the property of the rich and shoot down the laboring-men.

If the wealth in the hands of any millionaire is in danger of being destroyed, any poor workingman may, at

the risk of his life, be compelled to do the role of a soldier and protect the wealth dishonestly claimed by the millionaire. And thus it is. The poor man may be compelled at any time to give his life to save the rich man's possessions; but none of the rich man's possessions can be used to save a poor man from freezing or starving. That is, that's the case now while the rich have control of the government. In a rich man's government, "the dollar" is "above the man," the poor man's life is of little consequence as against the rich man's possessions, which possessions, as before stated, the rich man's government regards as being more sacred than the poor man's life!

But let us have a people's government, a common workingman's government! And then, the rich man's possessions cannot consist, as they now do, of a vast amount of wealth that really belongs to the common people, the people whose labor produced it.

"The true purpose of human government IS the promotion and development of the human race;" i. e., not a creation of antagonistic classes, but to aim at the promotion and development of a true brotherhood. And so long as the rich man's government lasts we cannot wonder at the increase of crime; for this present capitalistic government is promoting the propagation of both anarchy and crime, which as a consequence must be more and more apparent until the common people take a hand in affairs and deal out more common-sense-justice and less tyranny.

The present system must be changed or the republic will not long endure.

As all people have, NOW, equal privileges to enjoy the advantages of public mails, so also should we all have equal privileges to enjoy the benefits of having all other natural

monopolies controlled and operated by the commonweal and for the common good.

Owing to the fact, that we being asleep as it were, have so universally tolerated such hitherto unprecedented private monopolies and trusts, we American workers HAVE "as the crowning glory of a century of development upon a virgin continent, the fact of having produced more millionaires among our masters than any producers the world has ever known." We have produced thousands of millionaires and the consequent millions of paupers. These ruling capitalists, in order to accumulate such great wealth, have, by means of private monopolies and trusts, "fleeced" millions of their fellowmen. That is, they have both directly and indirectly robbed farmers and wage-workers of a large part of the fruits of their toil, and thereby driven them to the threshold of poverty.

The fact is, these millionaires have virtually compelled the farmers and wage-workers to "DIVIDE UP" the results of their labor.

And many of these poor defrauded people are keen to recognize the cruelty and injustice of their lot, and for this reason, some of them have become sulky and taken to tramping; and, not only this disposition to tramp, but, as previously stated, not such a few of them are embracing the doctrines of anarchy!

As it seems to me, the anarchist is simply a product, a product of unequal and unfair industrial conditions. Conditions, for instance, in which one man may acquire a fifty-year franchise of a city's streets, in which to run cars, electric lights, water-works, etc., at his own figure; and he proceeds to water the stock at leisure and to pass it off on the innocent people at par. Of course, "such a man can employ labor." He can employ a whole retinue of servants,

and his children after him can do the same. It is just possible that when we are dead and gone, some of our children may be able to get employment as their valets, coachmen or cooks.

What great philosophers, some of us people are, as, with a sort of a half smile or sneer, we try to conjure up a refutation of the existing conditions?

The trouble is, many of us have no conception of what immense wealth really means.

Some of us even speak for and try to defend the immensely rich, seemingly trying to imagine that we ourselves are almost rich and courting the delusive and wicked hope that we may yet draw prizes and become millionaires; while on the contrary, we have a hundred to one better chances of dying in the poor house.

True, a steel trust, a railway combine, or any other gigantic monopoly whose purpose is to perpetrate legal-theft may vote an unmerited, unearned million dollar salary to a Mr. Schwab, a Mr. Cuning or a Mr. Schemer. And this may be the occasion for numerous servile editors to write enthusiastic specious articles on the opportunities (?) offered to young men by the great corporations, etc., etc. It may also call forth considerable blatant balderdash from certain so-called cultured and respectable pulpits and college rostrums. But all the exuberant rantings of stultified editors, preachers and professors, cannot change the FACTS. Where this lottery system of monopoly offers such an opportunity to one man, it closes the door of opportunity to thousands of others who are equally able, and many of them far more worthy and deserving.

"When all the great industries are controlled by trusts, there will be a few big salaried officials and the remainder of the employees will be condemned to perpetual clerkships

with no possibility of independence in the business world.

If the present tendency toward consolidation becomes permanent, it is only a question of time when, as already pointed out, "the principle positions in the corporations will go to relatives and favorites, and descend from generation to generation."

And as for the average millionaire, when divested of all masks or screens, his methods are found to be scarcely above those of the highwayman, who also employs servants, donates to charitable institutions, etc., etc.

How many ways these fellows have of appropriating to their own ill-gotten gains the people's wealth.

"One way, they get control of two parallel railroads; then they divert the bulk of the business to one road, increase its dividends and sell its stock at a high price, while they buy at a low price the stock of the other road in which the dividends have been driven down; then they reverse the operation, divert the business back to the road in which they have bought the stock at a very low price and away from the road in which they have sold the stock at a very high price. In such an operation there are very extortionate profits."

Many millionaires have been made in this way.

"And another way in which these fellows have manipulated matters to accumulate such great and almost incomprehensible wealth, which they possess, is to get people to subscribe to build a railway. Then the directors let the contract for construction at an outrageously high price to a company composed of themselves. A first mortgage is put upon the road to help pay the bill. **THAT MORTGAGE IS FORECLOSED!** And the directors, strictly in compliance with premeditated calculations, bid in the road, freezing out the little original

stock-holders. In other words, they confiscate their property."

They don't make the small stock-holders "divide up:" but much worse, they just simply take ALL that the poor fellows have.

Many, millionaires and multi-millionaires have been made by this method and various similar methods; but I will not further delineate upon such.

About the oft-repeated, though most erroneous, assertion that, "The millionaires have earned the money;" and that, "Therefore they have a right to the immense wealth which they possess and control."

How utterly impossible and visionary SUCH a theory—that any one man can honestly earn a million dollars.

Why, my friends, just stop and think for a minute what such immense wealth really DOES mean.

In order for one man to EARN a million dollars, even if he received the nice handsome wage of ten dollars per day for each of the three hundred thirteen working days of every year, and if he never lost a day from sickness nor took a holiday for recreation, and even if he lived upon his wife's relatives and never spent a cent, he would thus incessantly have to toil and sweat, year in and year out, for upwards of three hundred and nineteen years, very nearly three hundred and twenty years.

Has Mark Hanna toiled so long?

Have any of our immensely rich gentlemen toiled thus long?

And let us remember that the multi-millionaire gentry would have to toil as many times three hundred and nineteen years as the number of millions which they possess. And many of them who control several hundred millions would need to toil several hundred times three hundred

and nineteen years. 'Am afraid' it would put a few more gray hairs in their heads than what ARE to be SEEN there.

And mind you also, my friends, that these figures are based on the nice sound price of ten dollars per day for every day in the year.

But how is it with the common people? Not MANY of us are getting ten dollars per day, nor can we find remunerative employment for every day in the year or anything like it. And I don't believe that very many of you, my comrades, are so fortunate as to be supported by your mother-in-law. You, therefore, instead of saving every cent, must spend a good share of what you earn as fast as you get it; and in cases of sickness or enforced idleness from other causes, you find that your salary is gone before it is earned.

But say, boys, the MILLIONAIRES!

AH! THOSE ARE THE FELLOWS!

They just COMPEL the relatives to support them.

And you, my friends, you so-called "American voting-kings" who are always patted on the shoulder just previous to election day—YOU are among those relatives.

You are those kindly distant cousins—"noble descendants of Adam."

"You eat your bread in the sweat of your faces." And the millionaires—they eat your cake "in the sweat of your faces."

How do they get it?

THEY JUST SIMPLY CONFISCATE IT!

THEY STEAL IT!

THEY STEAL IT!

And, my friends, the most deplorable of all is—THEY STEAL IT through the SANCTION and PROTECTION of LAW. The law of the trust, the law of the combine, the law of the

PRIVATE MONOPOLY! It is the law of modern TYRANNY!

The laws of our country are made, unmade and remade by legislative officials. These legislative officials represent certain political parties. They, OFTEN as perhaps deemed necessary, control the primaries, then dominate the conventions; and the general rule is, they succeed in dictating the naming of candidates, from the president down. And then, with plenty of money, extorted from the working classes, the millionaires may hire the best equipped newspapers and most talented orators on their side, and, with such great influence at their command, carry their favorite candidates into office and power—power to enact any law they choose—and they may be quite frequently disposed to choose almost any conceivable SUBTERFUGE, and make laws that will gratify the blind avarice of the millionaires; make laws that will further, if possible, their power to plunder and rob. When the legislative officials have been elected MAINLY through the means of million-dollar pocket-books, the millionaires are usually able, as a matter-of-course, to command such officials to do their bidding. And then, think how easy through their monopoly and trust power, the millionaires can MAKE the common workers and consumers pay the vast amounts used to carry on the political campaigns. Yes it is the money which the millionaires have virtually STOLEN from the masses who do all the useful and necessary work, that affords them the power to manipulate political parties, and thus to usurp and hold subject to their OWN control the machinery of government. Yes, however reluctant we may be to admit it—we workers, we producers of wealth—are nevertheless, MEEKLY PAYING the millionaires for tyrannizing over us!

With NO apparent difficulties, THEY HOLD US IN BONDAGE to the private monopoly and trust!

We furnish them with means necessary to enable them thus to rule over us in royal fashion!

The workingman pays for all!

And yet, a very large per centage of the wealth which the poor man's labor has made is in the hands of the privileged class of people.

And the most of these people are not what we may call useful workers, good, useful members of society. They are the cunning, scheming "drones;" they are the enemies of the great commonwealth. And these scheming "drones," steeped, as it were, in their blind, bigoted avarice—they have the brazen stupid nerve to assert that they are the really true and honorable owners of the immense wealth which they possess and control, and that they have acquired this vast wealth by honest, (?) honorable (?) methods. It is that very delusive and dangerous bigotry born of greed and selfishness which promotes the propagation of such tyrannical doctrines. And, deplorable as it is, the press, political parties and their leaders, our statesmen and orators, the judges and juries, and even the colleges and churches a great many of them are SUPPORTING this cruel doctrine of modern tyranny.

The powerful influence of selfishness and greed clothed in the guise of monopoly and trust tends very much to give a false color to this delusive doctrine of tyranny; and as a result, all classes—the rich, the poor, the righteous and the wicked—are all more or less bound in the chains of superstition.

Now, then, my friends, I am very well aware that this is touching many of you upon very sensitive and tender hords.

Of course it is very hard for you to believe that YOU are votaries of superstitious doctrines and beliefs. YOU, with-

out doubt, think that YOU are clear-headed and that YOU know your own mind and know what to believe and what not to believe, etc., etc. And likewise, I believe and I think that you also believe that our ancestors, all the way back to the beginning of history, had just as good opinions of themselves as we people today have of ourselves. They, no doubt, thought that THEY were clear-headed and that they also knew what to believe and what not to believe. Yet, it is now-a-days generally admitted and without contradiction, that humanity has been more or less bound down in the chains of oppression and superstition! In their misguided fears and superstitious beliefs, the masses were at one time the slaves of feudal lords; and at another time they were, many of them, the wretched victims of witchcraft; again, during all history, superstitious humanity has been known to be meekly submissive to the tyranny of king-craft and priest-craft.

And, however reluctant we may be to assent to it, we toilers of the world today are altogether too superstitiously submissive to the tyranny of private monopolies and trusts.

Superstition and also bigotry is a weakness of humanity, which, perhaps, cannot be entirely and permanently shaken off. And, therefore, mankind cannot maintain too vigilant a guard against this weakness. The more confidence with which a child believes and accepts in all faith without question as to "WHYS" and "WHEREFORES," without trying to reason for himself upon whatever the parent may tell him; the weaker that child is and therefore more easy to become a victim to superstition and bigotry.

And mothers who may pride themselves, that their children believe whatever they tell them, without question, or without seeking an explanation, should exercise more vigilance and strive as early as possible to lead the little

ones to expect and look for explanations and for the "whys" and "wherefores," that they may believe because their understanding, or reason, tells them as well as because, "Mamma says so." Training a child to believe in his own reason, as well as the say-so of his parents and teachers, can in no degree lessen his respect for them; but, on the contrary, it must tend to deepen his respect for them and also to fortify him for this life's battle with the superstition, bigotry and tyranny, that always have been and probably always will be the bulwarks of human greed and selfishness. The child who may sincerely say, "It's so when mother says so," whether it is so or not, is very apt to become a victim of these vices.

Again, I will touch a tender chord! I say ditto with men.

The man who belongs to a certain church or party and for no better or stronger reasons than that his parents or some of his special friends belong to the same, or without he be a knave who considers the matter from the standpoint of policy; then, I say, that man is very much inclined to bigotry.

And if any man, with no other or stronger reasons, believes in any particular or economic dogma either because his father did or because his father DIDN'T believe in the same, or because some very much admired friend or statesman or else his "PARTY" professes to believe in the doctrine; then, I say that man is a victim of bigotry and ought to try and reform.

Again, I say, those men, whether they be millionaires or paupers—those men who think the millionaires are the really true and justifiable owners of the immense wealth which they possess and control—those men are very much deluded with the teachings of modern BIGOTRY!

Wealth belongs to the person whose labor created it, and the people to whom any wealth belongs, are the real owners thereof. And, for the most part, the millionaires are not the really true and honest owners of the great wealth that they possess and control; on the contrary, the common workers, the masses, are in all righteousness, in all honor and common-sense-justice the really true owners of this wealth.

IT BELONGS TO THEM!

THEIR HARD AND HONEST TOIL HAS PRODUCED IT!

While the millionaires have done some truly useful work and produced some wealth, they have in most cases consumed, used up, in their rich, riotous, wasteful and wicked living, not only all the wealth which they themselves may have produced, but many, many times more. And having so used up all the wealth his own labor has produced, all the wealth that might have belonged to him and a GREAT DEAL MORE, the average millionaire is as a matter-of-fact the really true owner of ABSOLUTELY NOTHING!

He simply holds and controls wealth which he has USURPED from the producers! THAT IS ALL!

Every dollar taken from the workers, without an equivalent returned, is ROBBERY. It is CONFISCATION!

The man who by means of his superior physical strength over-powers his weaker neighbor and takes away his coat, thereby perpetrates a wicked crime. But the man who by the indirect, stealthy means of his superior cunning or financial strength, monopolizes a certain business and extorts millions from the financially weaker and less cunning masses, thereby commits a far more extensive and therefore greater and wickeder crime.

The crime of the physically strong man causes but very

little privation and suffering, compared with the awful results of that crime perpetrated by the man of superior cunning and financial strength. In the first case there is only one sufferer, but in the second case there may be thousands or even millions of poor, innocent, helpless sufferers!

Barring the few very rare, sort-of-accidental-happy-streaks-of-luck, all million-dollar accumulations result from superior criminal cunning and financial strength.

The great millionaire possessions of this "Fair Land of America" are, for the most part, but confiscated aggregations of the down-trod workman's labor! And it behooves the common workers, of this country to assert their manhood, RISE UP EN MASSE as a nation and, as it were, REPLEVY what righteously belongs to them—REPLEVY all the great monopoly and trust industries, such as railways, the factories, the mines, etc., etc. They already belong to us people; i. e., the government. And "we people, the government," should take possession of our OWN property, and operate the same, to the equal benefit of all and with special privileges to none. But in doing thus, we should, of course, be lenient and charitable with the millionaire class, the same as we would be with any absurd and wicked class. They should be kindly pardoned and allowed to "go in peace." True, by their OWN-law-sanctioned system for robbery they have wrought terrible privations and sufferings among the masses.

But then, they have only done, under the present teachings and environments, what ordinary persons will, if it chances to be their privilege so to do.

In that man is too frequently what his environment and teachings make him, he is somewhat irresponsible for being just what he is and for doing just as he does. The general beliefs and faiths of a man's country usually enter into and

become a part of his education ; hence, if a man's education is bad, he may be somewhat excusable.

Again, a man may, because of his selfishness or greed, become imbued with some very bigoted faith or belief. The great monopoly king and usurper may really think that he, after all, is pretty honest and a good fellow. In his blind bigotry, he may think that all is fair in commercial-warfare and that when through his cunning ability he succeeds in "freezing out" competition, and then by dishonest prices extorts millions from the masses, he is thus leading a righteous (?) life and laying up crowns inside "those pearly gates."

But he is a terribly deluded victim of greed—that greed which has been encouraged, goaded, and self-protected ; that blinding greed or thirst for power, which is but the natural outgrowth of existing custom, the present crazy man's unscientific custom which not only tolerates but also PROMOTES and DEFENDS PRIVATE MONOPOLIES and TRUSTS ! And it is not so strange as a person at first might suppose, that the millionaire fellows are trying to strengthen and perpetuate this crazy-system.

No, I say, it does not seem so strange, when we consider how narrow-minded and cruel the oft-times bigotry and selfishness as displayed by kings, or the bigotry of the once supposed or imagined "Devine Right" of kings to rule and of those old witchcraft doctrines and also of that not-long-ago believed-to-be-right of the white man to enslave his black brother. When we briefly refer to the teachings of history, it becomes easy for us to understand what a dangerously deceptive and delusive monster general custom, habit or public sentiment may be. As history DOES prove, almost inconceivable are the appalling, vicious bigotries which may be grafted upon the public custom and sentiment.

The habit or custom of imagining that the white race of people had the right to buy and sell in slavery the colored people did not make it right. And the belief of the "Pilgrim Fathers" that, after fleeing from the persecutors of the established church of England, they were in turn justified in establishing their code for religious persecution, did not make their practice of persecution justifiable. The fact, that after the Pilgrims had fled from persecution, they still retained some of the follies of bigotry did not prove the same to be a virtue, not by any means. The same with witchcraft. That old superstition of bigotry which was in vogue for a number of centuries and which caused hundreds of innocent people to be tortured to death, does not furnish any grounds for the defence of such vices. But it does serve to illustrate how much the human race, at best, is weak and is always subject more or less to the dangers of bigotry, and how vigilant we should always be to examine into all the existing habits and customs.

Yes, we should take timely warning from these teachings of history and always be ready to discriminate between the customs that are based on bigotry and those that are founded upon righteous logic. And accordingly, let us clearly understand that the monopoly kings' habit of thinking or imagining that they have a right to the immense wealth of which they have gained possession and control by cruel, unjust and dishonest methods, can never make it right.

And it is both the right and duty of "us people, the government," to take possession of our own great monopoly industries and operate them so as to promote the common good. Thus, we may reform the millionaires, civilize them, lift them out of their present realm of bigotry and ground them upon a more common-sense premise.

Since we American people have conquered and subdued the "Red men," we have sought at no small expense to civilize and reform them. We have furnished them with various means to help themselves gain an honest livelihood. And we also seek, not so much to punish, but rather to reform the junior class of white criminals. And to some extent we manifest the same charitable spirit toward the older criminals.

And, now then, I don't just exactly mean to compare the self-law-sanctioned high carnival criminals, that is, the great millionaire and multi-millionaire kings of commerce, with the poor and petty class that fill the reform schools and prisons. But I do mean to say that, after commercially decapitating these high-carnival millionaires, Uncle Sam should, in accordance with his well established disposition, extend to them the warm hand of charity. Yes, and the common people will without doubt be heartily in favor of granting to all such ex-millionaires sufficient aid to afford them an opportunity henceforth to earn an honorable livelihood, and live a life becoming honest, upright, useful citizens.

"The rise and decline of civilization may be marked by the increase or decrease of "individual-free-holders of homestead. "No nation can be truly great where a majority of the families are tenants."

And, therefore, when millionairism and monopolyism are overthrown, it will be good discretion to grant to all ex-millionaires free-homesteads.

The wicked extravagant and elaborate mansions in which many of these usurpers are now living, may be used to very valuable and just purposes in the way of free public library buildings, reading and concert rooms, night schools

and lecture rooms, free public bath-houses, foundling hospitals, etc., etc.

This way of dealing with the ex-millionaires, will practically parallel the way in which the "American savage" has been provided for after being conquered.

We hold no malice toward the "Red Man" who mends his ways. Neither should we lay up anything against the ex-millionaire. Both have unwittingly and in a sense unavoidably been very much influenced by bad temptations, by bad customs and teachings; and for this reason, they are entitled to charity. Of course, the custom of the monopoly king, has been to deprive the masses of what should be THEIR opportunities to earn and possess comfortable homes; but, then, to "pay him back in his own coin," will avail nothing. And the better course will be to give the wicked "prodigals" comfortable homes and also other means whereby they may engage in some honest, useful toil and support themselves in comfort, happiness and independence; just as every worker should be able to do.

Now then, there are those people who conscientiously assert that, "Some millionaires expend all the income they receive in works and deeds of charity and philanthropy" and that "although they have not acquired the wealth by honest methods, it matters not, it is all well enough to let them keep it, so long as they use the income for the public good." To this, I say that but very few, if any, use all the income for the benefit of the public: and besides this, I believe Uncle Sam is the MORE COMPETENT to use this income, in promoting the common good of humanity. And then, we must not forget that the wealth really belongs to the common workers, the common people, and the people are Uncle Sam.

In the sense that every man belongs to the whole people,

he belongs to Uncle Sam ; and even at the risk of his life, the MAN may be forced to do the role of a soldier. Likewise, that wealth in the hands of the millionaires and which belongs to the whole people, belongs to Uncle Sam ; and in all good common sense, it is ONLY JUST and PROPER that Uncle Sam take such wealth and use it "to promote the general welfare."

Common sense rules of justice do not "place the dollar above the man," but under the rules of tyranny it is very different. If, instead of the people, the millionaires are the government, as is mostly the case now ; then the millionaires DO "place the dollar above the man ;" then the man belongs to the government ; i. e., to the millionaires, and they may use him, at the peril of his life, to defend and if possible augment their strongholds. But it is contrary to the greed and tyranny of the millionaire and his rules of government to concede that the people have a claim upon the wealth which has been virtually stolen from them.

When a man with a conscience either blinded or hardened in that greedy and stupid madness of this bigoted age of private monopolies and trusts, STEALS through the sanction of law millions of the country's wealth, Uncle Sam should elect him to keep this stolen wealth and use it as he chooses ; simply because of the funny idea that, "perhaps one out of a dozen of such usurpers may sometime become interested in "the general welfare of his fellowcitizens." As previously suggested, there can be but few if any millionaires who are disposed to work for the good of the public. And, then, in the case of such a so-called good king-of-wealth, it is the same as with an absolute king or monarch ; i. e., however good one king, the heir to the throne, or to the great wealth, is liable to prove to be either the wickedest kind of

a tyrant or a stupid lunatic. He may be a fool or he may be a knave.

We may safely trust to the wisdom and integrity of the people when it is not safe to put trust in a king.

Again, there are those who talk a great deal about certain "men who have through their great skill and management reduced the cost of production, cheapened the price to the public, and in so doing captured a large trade away from other parties and thereby become millionaires, etc., etc.,

This is only a sample of the many catch-phrase sophistries which are being made, or rather unconsciously repeated, as it were, by a great number of honest working people—by both farmers and wage-earners. Such a seemingly simple statement, when fully analyzed in its wider and more complicated meanings, reveals some principles different from those which are to be detected by a mere passing consideration. What on the surface appears to be for the good of the public, when examined into proves to be the highest-handed robbery. If a person looks only at the surface of such statements, he is misled into the untrue belief that a man promotes the welfare of the public, when he shrewdly monopolizes any particular line of business. He does not realize that Mr. Monopolizer lowers prices to the public for the express purpose of driving his weaker competitors out of the field, and that many of the competitors are thereby driven into bankruptcy and that the employees are thus beaten out of their jobs. Neither does he realize that just as soon as all competitors are vanquished, it is the general custom, then, to raise prices to an unfair and dishonest schedule, and all this that Mr. Monopolizer may become a millionaire at the expense of the general public, saying nothing of the

cruel injustice to bankrupt competitors and also to poor working people who have thus lost their jobs.

Since it is a question causing not a few discussions and misunderstandings, let us, my friends, examine a little further into the patent-right question, already briefly touched upon.

In the first place let it be understood as is shown by statistics, that the many modern labor-saving devices of our country, were invented and brought to light by men who in the majority have died poor.

I contend, as I shall demonstrate a little further on, that the design, or purpose, of the patent laws is to encourage the "Yankee" genius to invent and bring to light useful labor-saving tools and machinery, so as to facilitate production: so as to make man's labor more productive and thereby more remunerative; so as to enable man to produce more and thereby acquire, consume and enjoy far more of the comforts and good things of this life than what would be possible without the labor-saving devices. The purpose of the patent laws is to encourage such labor-saving inventions as will enable people to live with less hard toil and at the same time enjoy more comforts and pleasures and thereby make more of themselves, live higher, better and happier lives. The AUTHORIZED purpose of the patent laws is to help bring about such conditions as will enable the wage-worker to produce MORE and receive BETTER prices for his work, a better price for a shorter day's work; and enable the farmers to till the soil with less labor and expense and at the same time sell their products for prices sufficient to afford them more of the good things of life, that they may live happier lives. Ultimately, the only authorized purpose of the patent laws, is to PROMOTE THE PEOPLE'S HAPPINESS, not to promote cunning, scheming millionaire mono-

polizers and usurpers and gratify their morbid greed and selfishness, but to promote the prosperity and happiness of all the people by increasing or multiplying the rewards of every man's honest toil. When the government takes possession and operates, for the equal happiness of all the people, the monopoly and trust enterprises which have become possible MAINLY as a result of the machine-inventions which the patent laws have encouraged; then the purpose of those laws will be materially realized.

It is not the inventor, the great benefactor of mankind, who has discovered and made available to man's happiness the countless labor-saving devices—no it is not the inventor that is oppressing the people. The inventor who studies and devises facilities for promoting the happiness of his fellow-citizens is not engaged in any crafty conspiracies to monopolize industries and plunder the common toilers.

But in the MR. MONOPOLIZER who becomes the proprietor of a patent by purchasing the right from the inventor, we have a rather complicated question; and to examine into this question properly we must go back to the constitution itself, whereby congress has power to enact patent laws.

And, now, then, in establishing the constitution, the "fathers" had in view six distinct, though correlative, purposes. And those six purposes, which are strictly harmonious, are set forth in the preamble, which reads as follows:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

And so we learn from this preamble that the objects

and purposes in establishing the constitution were to

1. "Form a more perfect union.
2. Establish justice.
3. Insure domestic tranquility.
4. Provide for the common defense.
5. Promote the general welfare.
6. Secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

And now, since the founders of this government, our "fore-fathers," designed that the constitution should "promote the general welfare," they surely did not in any way hope or intend for it to INJURE "the general welfare." In fact, the five other purposes for which they ordained and established the constitution, harmonizes with and makes for (not against) this one great purpose; i. e., "TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE!"

"To form a more perfect union," was to make for "the general welfare;" "to establish justice," was for "the general welfare," or general good;" "to insure domestic tranquility," makes for "general welfare," or for every one's good;" "to provide for the common defense," was for "the general welfare," for the good of all; and "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," was also for "the general welfare."

So, we see that the one most important purpose of the constitution is "to promote the general welfare," and we also see that every other purpose is in harmony with this LEADING purpose—"the general welfare."

Webster says that general means, "relating to the whole community;" "having a relation to all;" hence "the general welfare" means, "the welfare of the whole community," or a "welfare" "having a relation to all." "The general welfare" does not imply "the welfare" of any ex-

clusive, privileged class, but means "the welfare" of every citizen.

After all, "general welfare" virtually means general happiness; and broadly speaking, the ultimate purpose of the constitution itself is to promote GENERAL HAPPINESS, to secure the GREATEST HAPPINESS, to the GREATEST NUMBER. Hence, as before stated, the only AUTHORIZED (constitutional) purpose of the patent laws is to promote the people's happiness. And surely, to help enslave the masses to a comparatively few private monopolies and trusts, cannot serve very materially to increase "the general happiness."

Any construction or interpretation of the constitution which implies a purpose to run counter to "the general welfare" or to the happiness and well-being of the masses, is absolutely contrary to what our "fore-fathers" plainly declared was their PRIME object in establishing the constitution.

And if there be any law upon the U. S. statute books which, in its effect, does not harmonize with "the general welfare," then that law conflicts with the design and intent of the constitution; that law is contrary to authorized purpose; that law is not authorized by any one of the purposes for which the constitution was ordained and established; that law is subversive of those sacred purposes for which the constitution exists; that law is unconstitutional, without proper authority, null and void, and should be so decreed. Nothing but a most cavilous stretch of the imagination, could construe or interpret any clause of the constitution as properly authorizing that which is in direct opposition to the very sacred purposes for which that instrument was framed and established.

And, so far as the patent laws have been instrumental

(IF they have—I don't say they have) in helping to build up private monopolies which rob the masses and work against "the general welfare;" so far, those laws are contrary to their authorized purpose, and in such respect, they are unconstitutional.

If any millionaires claim that the patent laws justify their possession and control of millions of wealth, then they seek to shield themselves behind a law which they are pleased to interpret as being greater than and subversive of the constitution; and thus they would seek protection behind unconstitutional law; they would trample upon the constitution—which means a degenerate move toward a "Reign of Terror."

It is, nevertheless, both the right and the duty of Uncle Sam to reclaim all confiscated wealth which the usurpers may assert they have acquired through the sanction and protection of the patent laws. Any wealth which has been acquired through unlawful, unconstitutional means should be returned to the true owners.

Moreover, it is in all cases, the right of every people to see that their government is solely for "the general welfare;" not for the benefit of any privileged class at the expense of the masses. And aside and alone, from this constitutional-and-patent-law phase of the issue:

If a government operates against "the general welfare," it is not only the right of the people to reform that government, but it is equally their inherent right to correct and, by "replevin" and by any other suitable means, to cure as far as possible every injustice that has been inflicted upon "the general welfare;" and, for me this great righteous principle is sufficient to overcome any and every opposing argument.

And now, inasmuch as a people have a right to correct

and recover for any injustice inflicted upon "the general welfare;" so the American workers have an INHERENT right to RECLAIM ALL the wealth which the usurpers have dishonestly acquired.

CHAPTER V.

The man who may be so lost in delusion as to think the millionaires honestly earn and acquire the immense incomes which they enjoy in their profligate way, should just suppose they were to be penned up for a short time. Fence them all in together, alone by themselves and away from the people who now labor, and even allow them to keep all the property that they have confiscated from the honest toilers. What would become of them? Could they, while so situated, continue to pull upon their monopoly-and-trust-wires and rob the masses of a large part of the fruits of their toil? Or, if before they acquired these immense possessions, these usurpers had been fenced in alone and away from all useful toilers where there were no wage-slaves and farmers to produce wealth for them and to serve and wait upon them: THEN, how would they have managed to acquire the vast fortunes they now control?

Build a high wall—so high that there can be no intercourse over it. Put the people who now depend on their work and labor on one side by themselves, and all the millionaires on the other side by themselves; and you would then have the millionaires about as they belong, and they

would have—somewhat the same as we common people—to knuckle down and hustle to get enough to eat.

And that is just what they should have to do. Every manually able “body” should “HUSTLE” for his own living.

What would become of the people on the other side of the wall?

By following the “devine precept,” “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,” by establishing a true brotherhood or pure democracy, they never would miss capital. Capital is but the product of labor! Were all capital to be destroyed, labor would soon replace it! But without labor capital would go to ruin! Capital without labor can accomplish nothing!

But labor alone, when segregated from capital and free from the existing tyranny of private monopolies and trusts, will accomplish far more than what is now possible, under the domination of the present greed and avarice of capital.

“The Labor Exchange (in many works fully elaborated) would answer all the purposes of capital and money.” And if they on the one side of the wall, did not give away the bounties of nature, the mines, the forests, etc., the franchises and the like—if they enacted just laws they NEVER would have any millionaires.

And if these “nice fellows” (?) would take all their confiscated possessions and go away and leave us, we would get along very well; but they insist on staying among us and eventually transacting ALL the business through their trusts and monopoly-corporations.

The small capitalists being, under the present customs, UNABLE to establish themselves and compete; if these

customs continue, we must all sooner or later become corporation-hirelings!

There is no escape!

The corporations have NOW under their despotic rule all the great transportation, communication, manufacturing and mining facilities.

The department store is absorbing the little retailer, and many of them will soon be bankrupts. They will all wither away like green leaves after a killing frost. Scarcely any of them see their fate yet. But mark you, when it comes, these very men, now the most conservative of all, will then be the bitterest foes of this wicked commercial warfare.

When they have absorbed the retail business, as they have many others, these gigantic corporations will grab for the farms.

They will get possession of large tracts of cheap lands, through enforced mortgage-sales and by other similar methods, which with special railway, or shipping privileges, will afford them advantages against which you smaller farmers cannot compete. A number of the privileged millionaire classes have already begun this course. And as sure as fate, you very farmers, yourselves must yet be driven from business and crowded to the wall by these nefarious combines, UNLESS their kingdom is dethroned.

I tell you what it is, my friends, this is a world-wide question!

It is a question that bodes the future "weal or woe of the human race, throughout countless generations.

WHICH SHALL IT BE?

At the present day, these privileged millionaire classes are appropriating to oheir own use at least one-half the labor of all the people in the whole civilized world.

And what are these fellows giving us in return for it?
 FROWNS OF CONTEMPT! RIDICULE! SCORN!

In their estimation, as it would seem, we are naught,
 but "contemptible slaves!"

WE ARE half-slave!

And our masters are not like many of the "kind ones of old, who encouraged the slaves in their petty pleasures, nourished them in their sickness and cared for them in their old age." Ours are the masters who usually "know no mercy; who know no God! but the god of greed; the masters who care not for us when we are sick and who will not even decently bury us when we are dead, much less minister to our wants and needs in our declining years," but leave us to the, per chance, tender mercies of charity or to the unkind humiliating provisions of the law.

Our masters are the kind of fellows who sit and bask, at OUR expense, in those magnificent homes, those PRIVATE PALACES, furnished with every luxury that human mind can wish or caprice can devise. And there with their hearts like stone, their profligate pleasures are unabated, as they watch us in our bitter struggle along life's road, leading not a few of us to the poor-house!

"The words of the immortal Lincoln are as true today as when they were uttered: "This nation cannot long exist half-slave and half-free;" and in having ALL the common people half-slave the dangers to the republic are greater than in having HALF the people total-slave and the other half free,"

Chattle-slavery, negro-slavery, DID house, clothe and feed the slave, and it also provided him with medical attendance.

Wage-slavery cares not, whether the slave lives or dies, stays or goes!

Look into the great cities where there are frequently so many of the unemployed, who with empty flour barrels are but too eager to take the places of any of their brother wage-slaves, who may be either deceased or discharged.

Through existing conditions of commercial life, the masters who are on the inside of the trusts, are, not only a sort of a class of leeches feasting upon all the common and middle classes: but they are, **ULTIMATELY**, their own enemies. Seemingly steeped in their methods of blind iniquity, they are, as it were, seeking to "kill the goose that lays the golden egg." Generally, their God is the god of greed!" They worship the avariciousness of organized wealth. With many of them, practically, "all the higher attributes, all the finer sensibilities, are lost, or stupefied, in the brutal, greedy scramble for material wealth and the power which it brings. They learn to look upon the men and women with whom they come in contact, not as fellow human beings with common rights and common hopes, but either as legitimate prey or as subjects to be feared and guarded against."

In brief, they become what they, themselves term "business-men." And in their decalogue, "you can't be a business-man and a **HUMANITARIAN** at the same time." They say "business and humanitarianism" is hard to mix. They tend to destroy each other. And so, "if you expect to succeed as a business-man, you must carefully lay your humanitarianism away where the moths won't get at it, and bring it out only when your minister makes a professional call or on similar occasions." "You must strive to monopolize some gigantic machine-power industry and having accomplished this, then combine with other monopolies for the purpose of controlling the labor market. And, then, if the wages you choose to pay men will not support the family,

you can employ women and children, since many machines can be tended by them."

"Although, woman's natural place is in the home, there are today 4,000,000 women in the United States who are employed outside of the home."

"Many of these women become discouraged with their lot of poverty and go to recruit the ranks of the outcast army."

"But what is that to us millionaires? We are living in this age of private monopolies and trusts, and while the system lasts we WILL reap the harvests."

"Today nearly half of the 14,000,000 children of school age in the country, are not in school, most of them being at work. Many of them are working under-ground in the coal mines." "In many instances, both women and children in this great prolific land, that should be an eden in the universe, are being worked to the limit of existence." "They know that we expect of them a certain amount of work, and that unless they perform so much work, they will lose their jobs." "They lose all healthful energy of both body and mind. Their brains are so stupefied as to be incapable of clearthinking, and one who mingles with these people soon discovers how they are wrecked in both mind and body." "While it is a point of honor with SOLDIERS not to make war upon women and children, in our decalogue, we need have no scruples of conscience to inflict our slow-murdering process upon poor weak women and helpless, innocent children."

"With us millionaires, the question of what to do with the income one receives, becomes a serious one. To spend it upon personal comforts or luxuries would, of course, be almost impossible, no matter how lavish the outlay. And, REALLY, be the actual millionaire 'business-men,' these material comforts are comparatively of little account. To the

common working people they mean much ; but to the millionaire himself, the sense of cruel, wicked power and success which great wealth brings, is more than anything else ; and it is this that, in a sense, intoxicates him and generally makes him continue life-long his adroit process of usurpation.

“Most of what a millionaire quite frequently does, he does, not so much for the purpose of obtaining means that will serve to gratify his own personal desires or wants and needs, either present or future ; but he rather does ‘this and that’ for the purpose of furthering his own powers, for the purpose of advancing, generally, the powers of his class as against the rights of the masses.

And with this object in view, to increase and strengthen the powers of his class to rule and dominate over the common toilers, he may sometimes endow a college, library or church. As previously suggested, he may do this to tie them up, to control or influence the economic or religious doctrines that are taught. In short he may endow colleges and churches in order to cajole the common people with false, delusive teachings, in order to imbue the public mind with false religious dogmas. Colleges and churches are more or less influential institutions.

College presidents and preachers sometimes like money, and we millionaires like influence. They have the influence and we hold the money. We may exchange. That is, we may pay their salaries, and they can and will defend us. As Artemus Ward said, so this is a simple case of, “You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours.”

These churches and colleges are, of course, not supposed to understand anything of the law-sanctioned methods by which we millionaires plunder the working people and thus compel them indirectly to pay these churches and colleges

for teaching them falsely. In fact this education and religion is what we call the automatic kind. And we expect our churches and colleges to be very profuse in proclaiming that 'conservative' and grown-to-be thread-bare, as it were, code of morals which, briefly speaking runs about as follows: "Model boy: widowed mother: honest poverty: boy gets employment in near-by factory: boy gains proprietor's favor; joins same church: finally marries employer's daughter and succeeds to the management and ownership of the entire business; becomes a rich man, a monopoly-king and kind (?) religious ruler over the poor ignorant wage-slaves out of whose menial toil he makes millions of honest (?) dollars, with which he endows colleges and churches, and founds libraries, a bright and shining light for other model boys with widowed mothers, etc., etc."

"The working class taken all together are many times stronger than we, their masters who are on the inside of the trusts, and we could not make them obey us in a fair even-handed contest. But we know better than to engage in such contest. We have a better way. We control many of the schools, the churches, the newspapers and most of the book publishing houses; so you see, we control most of the places from which most of the people get their ideas. Thus we can and do succeed quite well in making people think that to act and to believe in the way that most pleases us, 'their masters,' is 'good' and that to believe and to do what is best for themselves is 'bad.'

So we set the common people to work, in their imaginations, building up pictures of another world that they may go to when they depart this life, provided they give up trying to be happy or make each other happy here, and stop thinking about having pleasanter work or better food or anything else they naturally want and should have, just believe

what we have the colleges and churches tell them. And, of course, we have the professors, the preachers, the newspapers, the books, etc., tell the people all about how sacred are the rights (?) of us millionaires to possess and control the wealth that we have confiscated, and also how that every American worker must deem it his patriotic duty to be always ready to become a soldier and risk his own life in defense of we millionaires' cunning, dishonest claim to the people's wealth."

"Now, this sort of teaching just suits the purpose of us masters. The common menial workers serve us much better when they are taught that God made some people rich and some people poor, because He wished to have them so, and that to please God, the poor people must take no thought of worldly pleasures and comforts."

"We learn that false and superstitious religious teachings are the most effectual means yet devised for cajoling and deluding the workers into servile submission. For any good, consistent, common-sense religion we have NO use! In order to play our games to best advantage, we must have the people somewhat under superstition. Get a man on his superstition, and you can handle him, WHEN he could not be handled by any OTHER methods. Hence, we antagonize all pure religions and seek to drive them from the land. IT'S BUSINESS, YOU KNOW?"

Venerable pastors, if you want to know who are keeping the working men out of the church and why the working men have so little faith in the church, look a little closer and see how many of the fellows who make the lot of the working men so hard, occupy high places of honor and influence in the church, how the churches are dominated with dollars, and you will find what are driving the working people from the church.

"To make the poor and innocent good and honest, where the rich, powerful and cunning are dishonest and vicious, is to place goodness at a serious disadvantage. To teach the poor patience and innocence in the midst of craft and cruelty, is to furnish the red-mouthed wolves (the tyrant rich) with woolly bleating lambs. Hence, the grip of the churches upon humanity, has been steadily lessening; for men permanently love ONLY those things that are beneficial to them."

"Why labor to save one soul and then condone those injustices that are crushing millions into sin? You are plucking brands from a constantly increasing conflagration. The flames continue to advance and devour what you thought you had saved.

"In what do religious duties consist, if not in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make others happy? From a christian standpoint, is it not true that man serves himself best by promoting the common good? Is it for the common good that the nation be composed of antagonistic hereditary classes?"

Why does the church so frequently throw its influence on the side of such economic principles as will best serve to strengthen the rule of the capitalist class? "Jesus most emphatically condemned the robbing of the poor by the rich. It was probably this which led to his crucifixion at the demand of the ruling classes of his own nation."

The painful silence of the pulpit in regard to the cruel oppressions of private monopolies and trusts, SHOULD drive the common people from the church, should make the church loose its hold upon the people.

The clear-headed thinkers among the working people cannot but despise the church, when its influence is so frequently on the side of whatever will best serve to strengthen the rule of the capitalist class.

O! No! "The church is not to blame for what its people do." But when the capitalist class dictate what the church teaches; then, to all material purposes and results, the capitalists are the church. And this, the more intelligent class of American workers are not slow to see.

It may be said, "Then, why don't the working people establish churches that will preach more in support of christianity and less in support of tyranny?" To this, I say that the working people, while under the reign of private monopolies, have already too many burdens to bear without building and supporting more churches. In fact, to attempt to reform the church, with a view to using it as an agency for reforming the government, would be misguided and wasted energy. The working man who clearly understands the situation will have but little to do with churches, such as churches are. By letting them alone he will find it much easier to live a natural, consistent life, a life that is free from superstition while it emulates the "Golden Rule."

The church does not overthrow kingcraft, but with the overthrow of such a vice the church generally undergoes a reformation. With the downfall of witchcraft, the church passed through a sort of metamorphosis. Ditto in regard to many other cruel absurdities.

So let history repeat itself.

CHAPTER VI.

As with the votaries of old, who worshiped under the rules of kingcraft and witchcraft, so with the masters of the present-day trusts; so with their most extreme graduates, or complements—the unthrifty, unfortunate poorer anarchists; and so with all the common and middle classes: as a rule, ALL ARE unknowing and somewhat irresponsible CREATURES OF CIRCUMSTANCES—products of environment.

The fellows who are on the inside of the trusts, like their brother anarchists who are on the outside, they are generally bad fellows, are, as a rule, dangerous characters; not that it is altogether natural for them to be such evil characters, but it is because of their evil environments, because of the grown-to-be cruel methods by which commerce and industry are manipulated, because of the evil school in which they have been educated to the parts they are now playing. The political economists and the politicians of this and every other country have generally magnified the importance of capital. They have exalted capital above labor. Yet it is quite generally understood how the amassment of great wealth may tend to corrupt the seat of the affections, may tend to beget avarice, to banish charity from the human heart and dethrone God from the empire of the human soul.

If a man associates among pugilists, his ambition will be to develop his muscular powers and excel in fistic encounters. When money or wealth is the key to power, men naturally strive, above all else, to possess treasures of gold. In the sense that wealth is the magic wand of power in the world, poverty is made a mark of reproach. Poverty is to be much dreaded for the reason that it causes so much sorrow and so many agonies, such as tend to spoil the better morals of the strongest character. In order to escape poverty men will resort to every means. Unless they are endowed with the most righteous religious sentiments, they will pursue unscrupulous methods. The fact is the two extremes, ABJECT POVERTY and UNREASONABLE WEALTH, BOTH HAVE A DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE. Miserable poverty and great wealth are correlatives. Millionaires virtually necessitate pauper-workers, and vice versa. The one is essential to the other. So, to abolish one will practically do away with the other.

We understand how, for instance, "A river may be beautiful and wholesome when it is fed by mountain streams and runs over a pebbly bed, between grassy meadows shaded with stately trees; but not so when it is polluted with city sewers, its bed is slime, and its banks are lined with garbage heaps." Accordingly, a people may be either good or bad, according to conditions and circumstances.

Shrewd, brainy men, may be a great boon, a great blessing to their fellow-men, a great blessing to their country, when their business principles are guided and moulded, when they are educated, under the influence of a just and correct commercial-and-industrial system; but not so when their business systems have become polluted, so to speak, under the legalized-robber teachings of private corporations, monopolies and trusts,

Men ARE, in a remarkable degree, creatures of circumstances, and in such respect, they are excusable. So the people who are in the trusts are not to be censured simply because they are in the trust business. They may be in the business rather because of existing conditions. "When men live among Romans, it rather behooves them to do as Romans do."

And when a man lives among legal-robbers, he may think it proper to perpetrate legal robbery. Under such circumstances we may concede to hold him as being somewhat excusable. Hence we can blame these trust magnates only (AND WE DO BLAME THEM) for using their utmost influence to defend and prolong the existing evil system.

"Miss Helen Gould is a most excellent young woman, and has great wealth at her disposal. She did not accumulate it, but inherited it; and there is no disposition to censure or criticise her, because of those immense possessions, but the WEALTH which she controls is the product of WRONG! It would far better have been left in the hands of those from whom her father wrested it. Such vast fortunes can never be cleared of the infamy of the methods of their acquisition, by any baggarly plan of partial restitution." Nor can such an inheritance of confiscated possessions give or establish an honorable claim to them. Either to bequeath or to sell confiscated wealth, does not convey any valid title or right to such wealth. The people from whom such wealth has been confiscated or stolen, are STILL the rightful owners of that wealth. And common-sense justice must permit such rightful owners to obtain possession of their own property.

True, many of the persons whose honest labor created the wealth, are now dead, and even the living ones from whom the wealth was extorted cannot be found and identi-

fied, and, even if they could, it would be impossible to determine the value of the real honest claim of each. So it is with all millionaire possessions. The true and rightful owners thereof, that is, the producers, cannot be definitely located or named. And in cases of wealth whereof the rightful owners cannot be found nor any heirs, either, then, the commonweal quite naturally succeeds to the ownership, and, if true justice prevails, it (the common-wealth) takes possession. Under the common-sense justice, the government always succeeds to the ownership of wealth that has no personal or private owners.

THE GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDS TO THE OWNERSHIP OF ALL MILLIONAIRE POSSESSIONS; AND WHEN THE COMMON PEOPLE CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT, LET US HOPE, THEN, THE MILLIONAIRES MUST GIVE UP THEIR ILL-GOTTEN POSSESSIONS.

CHAPTER VII.

“Oh! Yes!” some people say, “We know that the trusts and monopolies are robbing the country, and at a terrible rate; but, then, don’t you know there is no use of your talking so much about it—it can’t be helped?” And “You shouldn’t be telling the rising generation of these terrible evils, for it makes them pessimistic, you know.” And, “Even though it isn’t true, we want the rising generation to think that, ‘everything is lovely and the goose hangs high.’” “We want to PREVENT their seeing these evils and try to make them THINK that there are some commendable features about these monopolies and trusts. We want them to be optimists. You are arraying class against class; and you shouldn’t do so.”

Ah! Yes!

But, my friends, if we are thus to teach optimism with such a vengeance, why not consider the highwayman from your so-called “optimistic” standpoint? Why not tell our young people that there are commendable points about these

fellows, if we are to tell them thus about these thieving monopolies, corporations and trusts? That bold, daring and unflinching courage with which the bank-robber 'plies his trade, is, to say the least, none inferior to some of the cowardly scheming methods of millionaire trusts and corporations. You surely approve of arraying the people against the highwayman; and as far as arraying the trusts and corporations against the people, WE don't do that. They (the trusts, etc.,) attend to that themselves.

The trusts, corporations and monopolies are continually combining and stealthily arraying themselves against the common people; and at the same time, they are also slyly scheming and devising ways and means for disorganizing and disturbing the mutually peaceful relations and interests of the working classes.

It is the scheme of the oppressors to destroy, as far as possible, all federations of labor, trades-unions, etc., and so to stir up strife and hatred among the poor working people, that they may be fighting each other, when they should be mutually united and arrayed against the privileged millionaire classes and ready on opportune occasions to strike the cruel, crafty enemies with righteous and telling blows.

Between the trusts and the highwayman or bank-robbers there is one remarkable difference not always considered in its full significance. As a rule the highwayman robs the rich, but with the monopolies and trusts, the general rule is to rob the poor!

We should make no very material distinction between the mid-night burglar who enters the banker's premises and loots his treasures and the railroad robber who wrongfully appropriates the products of the farmer's and wage-worker's toil. In fact, the latter is even more wicked and in just common-sense-law he is MORE criminal, because the railroad

king steals so MUCH more from the poor people than what the burglar steals from the rich.

CHAPTER VIII.

Some people question the propriety of trades-unions, etc, claiming that it is just as wrong for labor to combine as it is for capital. And, in fact, the best that can be said of private combines or monopolies in whatever line, is that they seem, ultimately, to be of a crazy-man's system. A combine or monopoly in one line of industry, incites or provokes people who are interested in other lines of business to attempt also to combine and secure a monopoly in their own line. When one man secures a monopoly or when a number of men combine and so secure a monopoly on any one industry or commodity ; then, almost everybody is made anxious (and excusably so) to get a monopoly on something. As already suggested, so long as we tolerate the present system or custom that permits and condones private monopolies and trusts ; so long every man is partially excusable for engaging in the monopoly business, "as best he can."

The wrong is not so much in taking advantage of the system, but the GREAT and INEXCUSABLE WRONG is in LEGALIZING and thus condoning and protecting the CRUEL DEMORALIZING customs of private monopolies.

When there are the railway monopolies and pools, the telegraph companies, the steel combines, the oil trust, the

sugar trust, the tobacco trust, the meat trust, etc., etc.; the farmers quite naturally wish they could form a trust, too, and the laborers also wish that they could form a labor trust.

But if the rich did not combine, then farmers and laborers would not attempt to do so. The rich are virtually responsible for all the vices of private monopolies and trusts; because they are the INFLUENTIAL people who uphold and defend the evil custom of permitting them to exist; and also because they are the FIRST to combine and establish a trust or monopoly.

Since the purpose of the millionaire trust or monopoly, is to suppress competition and establish dishonest extortionate prices, no doubt the labor unions and farmers would be tempted to do the same if it were possible; but it is not possible for you farmers to form a farmers' trust that will prove effectual. There are so many of you farmers that you cannot successfully combine. The millionaire classes KNOW you farmers cannot successfully combine or form a trust, and they also know that such is the case with the wage-workers. They (the workers) are also so numerous that they cannot form a labor trust (labor union) that would be able to suppress competition so as to establish a dishonest and extortionate wage-scale. Were it possible for the farmers to combine as effectually as the millionaires do, and also possible for the laborers to do so, then the millionaires would have no further use for the present private monopoly-and-trust system.

If it were possible for the workers, the producers, to combine as effectually as the wealthier capitalists do, think what a system it would be. Why, we would then, indeed, have a sort of a crazy-clock system.

Suppose such a system were to have been put in operation on the first day of January, 1901.

Now, my friends, you may not think just the same about this as I do, but if you will only reflect upon it a little, I believe you will then look at it the same as I do.

On New Year's day, 1901, the labor trust would probably have held an official meeting and raised the workmen's wages; on the same day, the farmers' trust would have raised the price of wheat, corn, beef, pork and all other produce; the railroad monopolies would try to get the better of the farmers and for that purpose raise the price of transportation and care-fare; and so every monopoly and trust in the land would be particularly anxious to get above the farmers and wage-workers, and, with that object in view, they would ALL advance their prices. On the following day, the farmers' trust and also the labor-trust, finding themselves still at a disadvantage, they would again raise their prices; the railroads' the steel trusts, the sugar trust, etc., etc., would follow suit and AGAIN raise THEIR prices. Thus, the crazy-like system of raising prices could move along like clock-work. Each succeeding day might witness higher and higher prices all around the board, but no adjustment of the difficulties, nor any prospect of ending the strikes.

A little thought along these lines reveals a rather ridiculous state of affairs, for which the existing system and those who uphold it are responsible. This private-monopoly system is fraught with many vices. Primarily, the object of a monopoly or trust is dishonest and cruel. It is the purpose of the strong to plunder the weak. It is the scheme of the shrewd or cunning to swindle the innocent. The plan of the rich to rob the poor. But the purpose of the labor-union, or so-called labor-trust, and also the purpose of the organized farmers, or "The Alliance," is for mutual protection, is to pay the common enemy, as far as possible, "in

their own coin." As a RULE, WEALTH combines in MONOPOLIES and TRUSTS in order to DEFRAUD the working classes. LABOR combines to DEFEND and GUARD against these LEGAL-ROBBERIES.

While many of us bitterly condemn this present system, because we claim it is a bad one, because we claim it is a very evil system; you know that many of our opposing friends say that the existing system is a good one, that it is just about all right. And one of the favorite arguments of those who approve of the existing conditions is the theory of the survival-of-the-fittest. They tell us that the monopolistic or trust system through which the privileged millionaire classes are taking such cruel, dishonest advantages of all the common people and robbing the country—yes, they will tell us that this system is simply a proper means for carrying out those principles of the survival-of-the-fittest doctrine. But, as it seems to me, if this doctrine were true, the trusts and corporations would die off. But this is something they are not doing very fast. On the contrary, we have to face the stern reality that rascality and money almost always outstrip honesty and brains. Industry and self-sacrifice are very often poor where idleness and selfishness are often rich, where laziness and greed reap honor and wealth. And I should think that the man who accepts this survival-of-the-fittest doctrine would let his garden run wild, so that the roses and pansies might fight it out with the thistles and the "fittest survive."

I rather regard this so-called survival-of-the-fittest doctrine as but another term for confusion or anarchy.

"There is quite a common belief to the effect, that if the poor were sober, industrious and thrifty, they would cease to be poor. Now, then, it is quite true, that a sober man will succeed better than a tippler. But, though quite

contrary to a very popular opinion, the sober man's better success is more because of the fact that the other fellow drinks than because of his own sobriety." "Suppose there are ten clerks in an office, nine of whom are unsteady and one steady. The steady man will very likely become head clerk; though not so much because he is steady, but nine points to one, it is because of the fact that his associates are not steady. Were all his brother clerks steady like himself, then instead of having every chance for promotion he would have only one chance in ten."

"And so we must not suppose that because a sober and industrious man will succeed in some trades better than a drunken lazy man, that therefore the whole trade would succeed better by all becoming abstainers and hard workers. Look at the Hindoos. They are among the most abstemious and industrious people in the world, and yet they are the poorest-paid people in the world."

Again, many people assert that, "If a man is only determined to succeed he will succeed." But this is not true, nor does it prove that those qualities of energy, talent and self-denial which enable one man to improve his conditions, would enable all to improve their conditions. For the one man succeeds only because of his superior strength and skill or good luck; and if all men displayed strength and skill equal to his, he, himself could not so easily rise."

"Suppose there is a fire-panic in a theater and a mad scramble to get through the doorways, the stronger men may force their escape by trampling over the weaker ones. Imagine their saying: 'Those weaker ones, too, might have escaped, had they been equally strong;' while if they had, many of the strong fellows who did escape would have failed." But, if, instead of the so-called survival-of-the-fittest method, if instead of this anarchic method, they all had

pursued and orderly, systematic course of exit; then all undoubtedly would have made good their escape.

And so it is with the present commercial life.

In the business world today, nearly all is a sort of a panic, a mad scramble for the "mighty dollar." The popular modernly-endowed colleges and churches uphold and defend our present system of every-man-for-himself-and-the-weak-est-to-the-wall and in the survival-of-the-fittest style, the stronger ones in order to succeed are, in the commercial or industrial sense, trampling down the weaker ones.

The colleges and churches are teaching or at least they assume to teach the doctrines of economics, of christianity, of righteousness; the doctrines of a true brotherhood; and yet slavery is about as rampant as ever, it seems to be only the forms of oppression that have changed. At any rate, in our land at this day, a few of the industrially, commercially strong men have so clutched at the sources of wealth that millions of people cannot get work at honest and deserving prices, and as a consequence, many of those working at poverty-reducing rates are devoid of both peace of mind and health of body.

The monopoly kings not only oppress the poor, but they blind many of them to their real condition, holding out to them the wicked hope, that they, too (the poor) may possibly by extra toil, frugality, and some chance fortune, reach the point whence they in turn may be oppressors of the poor.

Was it a mere talking against time, wherein we are told, "Seek ye first the establishment of the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you?" Or rather was it ment to say, "Without scruples of conscience, seek first of all your own temporal welfare and advancement, forging ahead to a position of industrial, or financial safety, even though as a result of your doing so many of the

weak and less fortunate brothers must suffer ; and when by superior talents, or some happy hit of fortune given you by the Father of all you have reached a position of advantage, give an occasional pittance to those injured in the commercial battle ? ” “ That is precisely what the typical millionaire churchman is doing, while pretending to believe in non-resistance, meekness, self-abnegation and the like.”

“ We are continually reminded that our laws are not made so much for the protection of man, PROPERTY is of far greater importance in the eyes of the present monopoly-ridden government ; and he who calmly declared that, ‘ Men are cheaper than shingles,’ evidently believed he was only voicing the sentiments of the powers that be.”

The industries of our country are truly conducted upon the survival-of-the-victor or anarchic plan, and as before stated, the commercially strong are trampling down the weak.

But under different circumstances—if we had a just and honest system ; if our system for distributing the products of labor was based upon fair and honest principles ; if we had a pure democracy or an honest republic ; if this government operated wholly for and none against the one paramount purpose of our national constitution, i. e., “ TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE ; ” then every man who is willing to labor would be sure of a fair success.

And so the question as to which man shall survive, the fittest or the unfittest, depends very much upon those conditions under which the men struggle for survival. One condition of society will enable one kind of a man to succeed.

And so, a condition of society, a just and correct condition of society, will enable EVERY man who is willing to take off his coat and go to work, to succeed.

And, now, my friends, would we have those conditions

which promote the success and welfare of the comparatively few strong fellows who are on the inside of the trusts and break down the many weaker ones who are on the outside? Would we have those conditions which are producing paupers, tramps, and anarchists on the one side and a comparatively few millionaire tyrants on the other?

Or would we rather have those conditions which shall promote the prosperity and happiness of all the people, and with the people on the inside of the trusts—deriving equal benefits from the trusts?

Let us ever bear in mind that there are trusts and trusts, that there are public trusts as well as private trusts.

There are many private trusts in the hands of the privileged classes and managed by the privileged few for the express benefit of the comparatively few, "nice millionaire fellows, you know," at the expense of all the other people.

There are also the public trusts, in which all the people concerned have each an equal interest, and equal privileges.

The United States mail service is, materially, a public trust. It is a trust not for any privileged few but for all. It is a trust that is operated somewhat in keeping with the self-evident truth that "All men are created equal." It is generally admitted that the people, that is, the government, own this mail trust, (and if they don't own the other trusts, why not?) and the people are on the inside—everyone presuming to be equally benefited, all having equal privileges.

But the private trust, the Standard oil trust, for instance, is different from the public trust, the United States mail trust. They are run upon different plans. The public mail trust being in the hands of the government is for the equal benefit of all the people; while the private oil trust is in the hands of a "select class" of fellows, is for their special benefit, and at the expense of all the common people.

In short, all public trusts are for the good of the people, to promote the common people's welfare and happiness—all private trusts are against the people, are "destructive of these ends;" they tend to destroy the people's prosperity and happiness.

ALL PRIVATE TRUSTS ARE ARRAYED AGAINST THE MOST IMPORTANT PURPOSES OF THE GOVERNMENT; THAT IS, THEY ARE ARRAYED AGAINST "JUSTICE," AGAINST "DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY;" THEY ARE ARRAYED AGAINST "THE GENERAL WELFARE!"

The paramount purpose of any and every just government is "TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE," VIRTUALLY THE GENERAL HAPPINESS. And, "IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTAR OR TO ABOLISH" WHATEVER INSTITUTIONS MAY BECOME DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS!"

What we may reasonably term our public school trusts, are controlled by the public; and all who so will, enjoy equal privileges. So with our streets and other highways, in which we are all equal stock-holders.

NO PRIVILEGED CLASSES, NO CLAUDE DUVALS IN POSSESSION OF OUR STREETS AND HIGHWAYS, MAKING THEMSELVES MILLIONAIRES AT OUR EXPENSE!

NO STOCK GAMBLING IN OUR MAIL SYSTEM!

Did you ever hear of a Rockefeller getting a corner on letter stamps?

Any "freeze-out" games in the postage-stamp business?

No, because this great mail industry, the most admirable industry in the known world, is in the hands of the government, and also because it is, materially speaking, both a government monopoly and a government trust, and we are all to have equal opportunities to share in the privileges it affords and moreover, because we are all equal share-holders, having equal interests in every stamp that is printed.

No doubt, some of the millionaires would like, as in olden time, to possess and control all the wagon roads; so that they could place a toll-gate at every corner and tax the people who wished to pass through.

No doubt, they would like for the government to quit the mail business.

Then they might sell stamps at one price one day and at two prices some other day, boycott one class and give special privileges to another.

As it is, however, there are no strikes and lock-outs in the mail industry.

The mail service don't close up shop to limit production and establish extortionate prices.

None of the millionaires get exclusive privileges through the mails, like they have over the railroads.

They don't confiscate our property in this government trust.

Let us American workers, farmers and wage-earners, unite as a nation and take the reins of government away from the millionaire usurpers; then, place the government in the possession of the railroads, the great coal mines, the oil wells, the telegraphs, and all great factories, etc., etc.; CONVERT all private monopolies and trusts, such as are naturally public utilities, into public or government trusts or monopolies, to be managed by the government for the equal benefit of all the people. Do this, and then there will be no more bankrupt little original railway stockholders; no more of the present millionaire-methods of confiscating the poorer people's wealth; no more hereditary class distinctions—then there will be a cessation of strikes and freeze-outs, of boycotting and blacklisting; a suspension of Hazelton-massacres, Coeur d'Alene-brutalities and the like; a sus-

pension of a great number of law-sanctioned wrongs which are now the order of the day.

PUBLIC POSSESSION AND CONTROL OF ALL PUBLIC UTILITIES! WITH THE CONSEQUENT ANNIHILATION OF MILLIONAIRISM—AND, THEN, THE CEASED-TO-BE MILLIONAIRES WILL EAT THEIR OWN BREAD AND LEAVE OUR CAKE ALONE.

“Said the Monster Trust: “I am born of lust

And a lustful horde I lead.

My dam was Desire, and my lawless sire

Is known in the world as Greed.

At the hour of my birth there was a sorrow on earth ;

Toil covered her face and wept,

And Progress stood back, as I rushed down the track,

And blindfolded justice slept.

“Like a mountain of snow I grow and grow,

As the millionaires push me along—

They sing at their labor and crush their neighbor

Down under my weight with a song.

For the little men must make room for the Trust ;

They must give us the right of way,

It is folly to fight with a thing of such might,

And a thing that has come to stay.

“As I roll on my path I leave sorrow and wrath,

And poverty, hunger and cold,

But the millionaires laugh and a bumper they quaff

To the Trust, the great monster of gold,

But they push me too fast, and the many at last,

The many who curse and rave,

Shall seize me and bind me, and lo! they shall find me

A willing and competent slave.

“Though I fatten the purses and win the curses

Of thousands as I roll by,
Yet the time draweth near, when in love, not in fear,
 Shall the laborer look in my eye,
For the People shall claim me and men shall rename me,
 Though born and begotten of greed,
I shall yet befriend them, I shall yet defend them—
 Since only God's purpose can speed.”
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox in New York Journal.

CHAPTER IX.

Let it not be in the least supposed that the author of this pamphlet presumes to have told anything that is not quite generally known. The constant aim has been simply to deal with well known facts, very important facts, such as the general public have not thought over and weighed with that deliberation which should be given to such important questions.

It is a well known fact, that, "The earth yields more than enough to make every human being comfortable and happy. There is ample material to build every family a healthful commodious home: every man, woman and child could be clothed in excellent apparel, and the larder stored not only with the necessaries but the luxuries of life. There is no necessity that one single little child should be bare-footed and ragged, nor that women should be forced to sell their honor for bread." "Providence never created an earth of such boundless resources, simply that a few designing knaves should appropriate the opportunities to their own use as a means of living in luxurious idleness, whilst the balance of mankind should toil amidst injustice and frequent hunger, in a debasing struggle for bread.

There is nothing wrong about our mother earth. She is

able to provide amply for each and every one of her children. There is more than enough. There is some to spare. Oh! that men would ponder on these things, long and deeply, then be up and doing!"

"Production has increased many times more than the mouths that are to be fed, and yet many of those mouths are hungry, and the backs that are to clothe, are, many of them, at the brink of nakedness; many of the heads that production should shelter, are homeless; the brains that should be educated, are, many of them, dull, superstitious or criminal; and the souls which society should help to feed are often brutish." "Surely, it is time that science, morality and religion should speak out. A great change is coming. It is even now at our doors. Ought not men of good will to consider how we shall receive it, so that its coming may be peaceable?"

"The greatest criminals of the world, are not the ones who break through all laws, and whose selfishness is manifested in the bloody knife, or the incendiary's fire torch, or the bludgeon of the thug. The more scientific, crafty, cunning, treacherous and cowardly criminals, are the fellows who corrupt the fountains of government and create tyrannical laws and conditions by which millions suffer and out of which murtherers and robbers naturally and unavoidably rise."

Why should "want and wretchedness, wealth and pleasure," be so typical of the two antagonistic classes, between whom the contest is gradually becoming more intense, more bitter?

One of these classes could do better, if the other were not even in existence.

One class would first have to reform, in order to do at all without the others to serve and wait upon them.

It is a well known fact, yea, it is a "self-evident truth," that, if every wage-worker and farmer on the earth would happen suddenly to die before night, the millionaires would succumb to the inevitable at once, unless they changed their ways. But let all the millionaires depart life this moment, and the farmers and useful workers would grow prosperous and happy.

The utter annihilation of every millionaire "on the face of God's green earth," would very materially "promote the general welfare."

It would prove to be not a "benevolent assimilation" but it would prove to be a genuine "expansion" of man's happiness.

It is a well established fact, that our ancestors believed that "God gave kings the right to rule," that, "He specially endowed them to rule over the masses!" Our ancestors were slaves to this arrogant tyranny. The kings told their tale, and the deluded credulous people generally believed it. It was a part of the creed, that the kingly tyrants were the rightful owners of all the land, and so the people were only permitted to be tenants thereon, upon such terms and conditions as suited the pleasure of the tyrants.

No doubt, the custom of such naturally self-persuaded-to-be egotistic kings deluded many of themselves into believing that their OWN ARROGANCE was a righteous virtue. In fact, history teaches that such was really the case. In all probability, such were the delusions of cracy-king George III. I once knew a good old teacher who claimed that an habitual hob-goblin-story-teller would rear superstitious children who would believe in, not only ghost-fallacies, but also many other vices of superstition. Such seem to have been the weaknessess of olden kings. The first vicious old tyrant to sit upon a throne, taught his children to rever-

ence the villianous dogmas of king-craft and to believe in an imaginary "Devine-Right-of-Kings-to-rule," etc., etc.; and many of the successors to a throne, seem to have been really lost or misguided under this ridiculous delusion. No more ridiculous and villianous, however, than the customary arrogance of modern millionaire-kings of industry.

What was true concerning the custom that was in vogue in the days of our ancestors and the olden kings, is in a great measure, true today.

As the old-time kings falsely claimed and also cajoled the confiding people that they (the kings) were the rightful owners of all the land ; so the present millionaire-kings-of-wealth cajole and entice the common toilers to accept the ridiculous theory that these modern kings are the rightful owners of the millions of wealth they possess and control. But, I repeat, it is a well known fact, that the common toilers, the farmers and wage-workers, have produced this wealth. These millionaires DID NOT produce it and they could not now possess it, if they had not cunningly usurped it from the common down-trodden toilers. And so sure as reason and common-sense is to prevail against the brazen arrogance of these fellows ; the very fact that they have no good common-sense right to hold and use this wealth MUST YET become well known, well understood, BECAUSE IT IS A "SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH !"

It is a well known fact, that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital:" that "capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed."

"Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."—Abraham Lincoln.

Man's only sensible purpose in laboring, must be for prosperity and happiness ; and as the masses are doing the

work, the fruits of their toil should be for their OWN welfare and comfort.

Capital, or wealth, is only the product of labor, and capital, in the aggregate, should contribute to the general comfort, pleasure, culture, good morals and happiness of the people; and it should be one of the purposes of government to enact laws that will tend toward such results. It is the duty of the government to regulate the distribution and control of ALL capital, or wealth, in such manner as will best serve to elevate the people, to promote their good morals, their comforts, their pleasures, in a word, to promote the greatest good moral-happiness of the greatest number. Wealth or capital, should be an agency for good, should be a good moral-agency; and it should be one of the prime purposes of government to make it, in every possible way, an agency for the upbuilding of general prosperity, happiness and good-moral-citizenship.

An "All-wise-and-just-ruler" must design for wealth to be an agency for good—not for bad, to be an agency for elevating—not degrading—the moral status of humanity. The fact, that, "It is human to err;" that "Man is not a perfect being," not "All-wise-and good;" that, he is predisposed, not only to do good, but also prone somewhat to do evil; that he is predisposed, not only to be wise and imbued with reason and honesty, but also somewhat to be unwise and given to foolishness, somewhat given to sophistry, deceit and fraud; that he is given, not only to clear-understanding as to the questions of right and wrong, but given also to misunderstandings, to discords, jealousies and hatreds; that he is given not only to mutual and harmonious friendly or brotherly intercourse and association, but also to cruel, malicious strifes and embroilics; in a word, the fact, that man is somewhat cruel and foolish, as well as good and wise,

is REALLY what necessitates the VERY ORIGIN and RISE of government. If man were a perfect being, then there need be no judges; no juries; no courts; no lawyers; no armies, or navies.

It is man's wickedness and foolishness that make it necessary for governments to be instituted among men. "And however our eyes may be dazzled with show, or our ears deceived by sound, however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding, the voice of nature and reason will say," this is a fact.

It is also a fact, a well known fact, a "self-evident truth," that, the greater and broader the good-common-sense moral virtue of a nation, the greater the general prosperity and happiness thereof. And it is the bounden duty of government to operate in every possible way that will tend to elevate the moral virtues of all the people. According to established precedents of all nations, in all ages, a government may sacrifice the lives of thousands and thousands of its people in prosecuting a war in defense or support of good moral principles; such being generally conceded to be both the right and duty of governments. And, if it be the duty of governments to maintain such a control over their citizens at the peril of the men's lives; if thousands of lives may be laid down in support of moral principles, HOW MUCH MORE it becomes the right and duty of government to control and regulate ALL WEALTH for the upbuilding of the moral virtues of all citizens, HOW MUCH MORE it becomes the bounden duty of government to use EVERY CONCEIVABLE method for making capital an agency to advance the general good, for making capital an agency to promote the spirit of altruism, to promote in every way possible a true brotherly spirit. The greater spirit of good common-sense-altruism; the broader, the more substantial,

free and secure, is "the general welfare." And, "In order to promote the general welfare," a government must necessarily encourage an altruistic sentiment; it MUST establish and maintain SUCH SYSTEMS as will best serve to encourage this altruistic sentiment, this true brotherly feeling—NOT necessarily a RELIGIOUS sentiment, but a true humane or righteous sentiment, a GENUINE "GOLDEN RULE" spirit—not in any sense an established state religion, or a union of church and state, but an altruism based upon the principles of religious freedom, free speech and liberty of the press. In whatever respect a government system "fails to secure these ends," in such respect THAT system is a failure. And since our national government maintains one system for the distribution and control of capital, which in most respects is "destructive of these ends;" in those respects the system is a failure, and, "It is the right of the people to abolish" the present private-monopoly-and-trust system.

As fire may be either a hard master or a good servant, according to the system for controlling or regulating it; so with capital. Capital that is invested in private monopolies or trusts, such as the United States mail, the public streets and other public institutions, wagon roads, free public schools and the like, city water works, etc., etc., is an agency for the general good. All public capital used to carry on public or government monopolies, serves to help develop the general prosperity and happiness. Capital, when employed along these lines, as in the mails, the public schools etc., upholds and promotes principles of altruism, or of a true brotherhood. Capital, when thus directed, tends "to promote the general welfare."

But under our present private-monopoly-and-trust system, the general tendency of capital is, NOT to promote an altruistic feeling, not to encourage anything like brother-

ly sentiments. Far from it! The general tendency of capital when operating under this private-monopoly system, is to stir up and promote strifes, jealousies, deceit, hatred, robbery and even murder!

Under this system, wealth gravitates into the private monopoly or combine, and by such methods deprives the working people of their inalienable right to honest deserving wages, dishonestly deprives the workers of the fruits of their toil; appropriates by legal-theft the cream of the farmers' produce and also the wages of other toilers. It is this kind of wealth, perverted wealth, that is the original cause of strikes, riots, mob-law, etc. It is this kind of capital that is demoralizing the American citizenship. It is the wealth in private monopoly that breeds thieves, robbers and murderers. It is the wealth in the government monopoly that creates the spirit of altruism.

It is a well known fact that organized capital in private monopolies, is a terrible agency for propagating almost every kind of crime. Either directly or indirectly, ALL the working people are victims of legalized robbery which wealth, or capital, serves to perpetrate through the private monopoly or trust. Hence, I repeat, we must not wonder, that the workers, some of them, lead criminal lives. The great CAPITALISTS are RESPONSIBLE! MORE is the wonder, that so few of the workers are criminals. That they meekly tolerate so many criminal impositions from organized capital, and scarcely ever return "tit-for-tat," speaks plainly of the forbearance and inherent altruistic disposition of the working masses. It is, indeed, not a little remarkable, that the dagger of the assassin, is not on the sleuth hunt for every monopoly or trust fiend throughout the broad land!

When men so conspire to rob the masses at will, usurp and corrupt the powers of government, thereby perverting

government to criminal ends; and then, when labor combines to guard against such outrages, call out the militia to shoot down the laborers, on pretense of their having stepped over the bounds of some monopoly-made-law—nothing strange if such fiendish tyrants be assassinated! Without they were so hopelessly steeped in the maddening and stupefying influences of their wonted arrogance, they would cease their tyrannical depredations, for fear of impending assassination. When laws may be made and unmade at the instance of a few fiendish tyrants, surely there can be no law in this life to reach such high-carnival fiends—unless it be the law of the thug! And when the down-trod toilers come to understand (as many of them now do) that tyrant-made laws will not punish the tyrant, why strange if the workers lose patience and forbearance and, “going from bad to worse,” proceed to stealthy, secret means, in the hope of ridding the nation of these crafty monopoly-kings? Let them take warning that, as an unhealthy, diseased constitution promotes bacteria or microbes, so a diseased monopoly-and-trust-ridden government must ultimately promote thugs and assassins. And their crimes will rest upon all who uphold the private monopoly-and-trust-system.

Armed with the pernicious and powerful influences of subsidized newspapers, politicians, etc., and also those wickedly elaborate pulpits as well as colleges, endowed with money which they have virtually stolen through the sanction of law, these millionaire classes seem determined to precipitate a reign of carnage!

Their blood upon their own hands!

If the present trend of affairs continues, the time cannot be far distant when the general sentiment of the working classes will be, “There is no longer room for hope. We must fight. I repeat it, sir; we must fight!” As the young

Bostonians raid on the British regulars was only a violation of the oppressive laws of King-George-Tyranny, so the raid of the working people in and near Coeur d' Alene was only a violation of the cruel and inhuman laws of modern tyranny, of king-millionairism. True, for a time, mad, stupid King George gloated over the Boston massacre, and many a villainous millionaire may likewise gloat over the Hazelton massacre, the Idaho "bull pen," and other scenes of law-sanctioned horror. The colonial patriots could not forget the Boston massacre. Neither can the modern toilers--**NOR SHOULD THEY**--forget either **HAZELTON OR COEUR D' ALENE!**"

Just as **SURE** as, "There is a point in poverty when life becomes a **BURDEN** and **DEATH** a **RELIEF**!" just so **SURE** will the down-trod toiler become more and more wreckless and disposed to lay his hands upon the dagger and dog the footsteps of the self-law-sanctioned millionaire oppressor and robber, and, when not able to strike the real robber, he may attack any of the fairly well-to-do, or middle class: notwithstanding, he very well knows that by such conduct he is probably rushing into the hangman's noose!

"The millionaire cannot be **ALONE** in this great danger. The mere comfortable liver must **LIKEWISE** suffer in case of such a hurricane of death. A fashionable suit of clothes worn upon the back of a poor clerk--his sole possession, perhaps--may be as good as a death warrant to him. Perhaps it will not be a day of peaceful trial by jury, to which each man may appeal and prove himself a friend of the people. It will more probably be in the nature of an insane, fierce, unreasoning, savage-like yell for the blood of the oppressor, while many of the oppressors, the **REAL VILLIANS**, will be far, far away in safety and you middle classes will have to take the brunt! You misguided, deluded middle classes

who are, many of you, upholding and defending this private monopoly-and-trust system by which wholesale legal-robbery is being perpetrated—you, thus, very innocent and unconscious people are bidding for to place yourselves in the GREATEST DANGER!" "Why do you people so thoughtlessly and heedless-like harbor these bigoted dogmas that are but the deceptive teachings of modern tyranny? No sort of rigid economy can save up the world for a comparatively small privileged class, nor can any man at his death rightfully bequeath to his son the life-services of his neighbor's son. The world justly belongs to its laboring men!"

It is said, "One of the charges against Charles the First was that he had created and fostered monopolies. His head went to the block!" For a number of years our law-making officials have likewise fostered and protected monopolies. Must history HERE, repeat itself? Was Mancanly a prophet, when, about a half a century ago, he said, "Your republic will be pillaged and ravaged in the twentieth century, just as the Roman empire was by the barbarians of the fifth century, with the difference that the devastators of the Roman empire, the Huns and the Vandals, came from abroad, while your barbarians will be the natives of your own country, and the product of your own institutions?" Let us hope not.

Said Daniel Webster, "The freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few, and render the masses of the people poor and dependent." And it is a well substantiated, well known fact, that such is the inevitable tendency of the private monopoly-and-trust system. It, therefore, MUST BE abolished and the public or government, system substituted.

I repeat the well substantiated fact that millionaire

monopolizers are maintaining a most skillfully organized literary force whose purpose is to prepare, print, publish and otherwise promulgate from college, political hustings and even from the pulpit, specious arguments, "full dinner pail" twaddle, etc., against the fast growing sentiment in favor of public possession and control of public utilities. They are employing the shrewdest and most cunning talent to abuse and pervert language so as to mislead the public, to inoculate the public mind with sophistries and illusions. This is the kind of a gang of legal-robbers with which the common people have to deal. This is the urgent problem of today, of tomorrow. It is the problem necessitating constant vigilance. But the working people are equal to the task that is before them. They can and will conquer and subdue this horrible enemy with which they have to cope. They will ignore the stultified pulpits, colleges, newspapers, etc., and organize into a systematic political force and secure the powers of government and with those powers the possession and control of the public utilities, which are for the most part, their own rightful heritage.

Do the wage-workers hope to secure their rights WITHOUT political co-operation with the farmers? Do the farmers hope for better prices for bread, beef, pork, butter, eggs, etc., etc., when the wage-workers, the consumers, are reduced to the point of extreme poverty? Have the farmers' "Alliance" or "Grange" organizations repaid the expenditure of labor and money it cost to maintain them? Let us hope "Yes!" "Have our labor unions much more than repaid the expenditure of labor and money it has cost to maintain THEM?" Do we wage-workers and farmers select the representatives we elect; do we make our laws; do we govern ourselves? Are our political parties controlled by private corporations, monopolies, "that exist as parasites upon

the body politic, giving us one of the most scientifically corrupt and tyrannical despotisms in political history?" Is our labor legislation manipulated in a great measure "by a vast lobby system?" Are the laws of our country largely the product of both direct and indirect bribery? Is it an exaggeration "to say that the chief work in both state and national legislatures for a number of years has been to obstruct, defeat, or cheat, the will of the people?" When we elect men to congress or the legislature, are they then our public servants or our masters? Must our legislators or congressmen carry out our wishes, or are they free to do as they please? Should they do as we request of them, or as they please?

When they pass a law that we don't like, what can we do? Can we help ourselves? Under the present system, are the congressmen our masters? Should they have power to make any law they please regardless of our wishes? Should your hired men be privileged to run your business just as they choose? If not, why not? Then why do we allow our congress to run the government to suit their own convenience or perchance, the requests and cajolery of the lobby, whether we like it that way or not? Do you think a better system would be for congress to have power ONLY to devise and propose a law for us to either sanction or veto as we see fit? Do you think the immediate power of the people should be greater than that of congress? Should the majority of the voters, have power at the ballot box to veto any bill that congress and the president pass and which the majority of the voters don't want? If not, why not? Do you believe in majority-rule? In case the congress or legislature refuse to pass a law that the people want, should the people have the power to make the law by a majority-ballet? Do you favor direct legislation, or in the initiative and referendum—that

is direct law-making by the voters? Are you familiar with the Swiss system of government, i. e., the initiative and referendum? Have you a desire to learn more of this direct legislation, or initiative and referendum system by which the voters govern themselves, make laws by direct vote in spite of congresses and legislatures, and also veto any noxious laws that corrupt congresses or legislatures may try to pass? In a word, do you believe in and wish to learn more of the really genuine "government-of-the-people-by-the-people-and-for-the-people" system?

If so, write to Eltweed Pomeroy, East Orange, New Jersey, and ask for circulars.

Reader, you are no doubt NOT unmindful of the somewhat rumored and quite reasonably probable scheme to attempt to "hoodo and button-hole" congress into having the railroads of the United States transferred to the government by bonding the country for three or four times the real value of the roads.

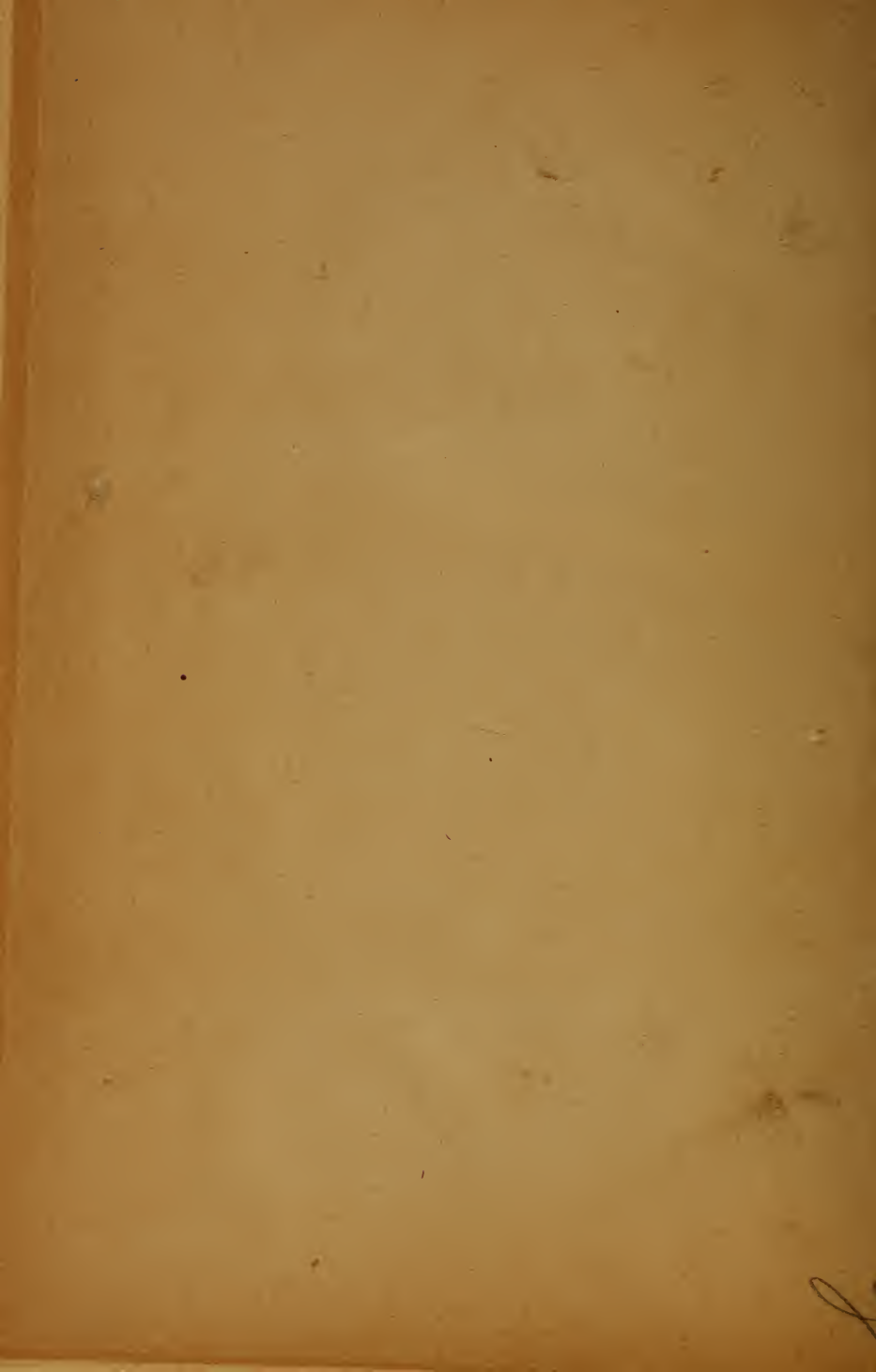
There are many innocent, well-meaning, though deluded people who are apt to regard such a robbery scheme with favor. They do not appreciate the fact that the railroads now belong to them (the masses) and not to the millionaire tyrants who possess and operate them as a means to oppress, plunder, and rob the common, honest toilers, the farmers and wage-earners. Many of these honest toilers do not appreciate the fact that they and their fathers have more than paid for these roads and that they are therefore the really rightful owners of the same.

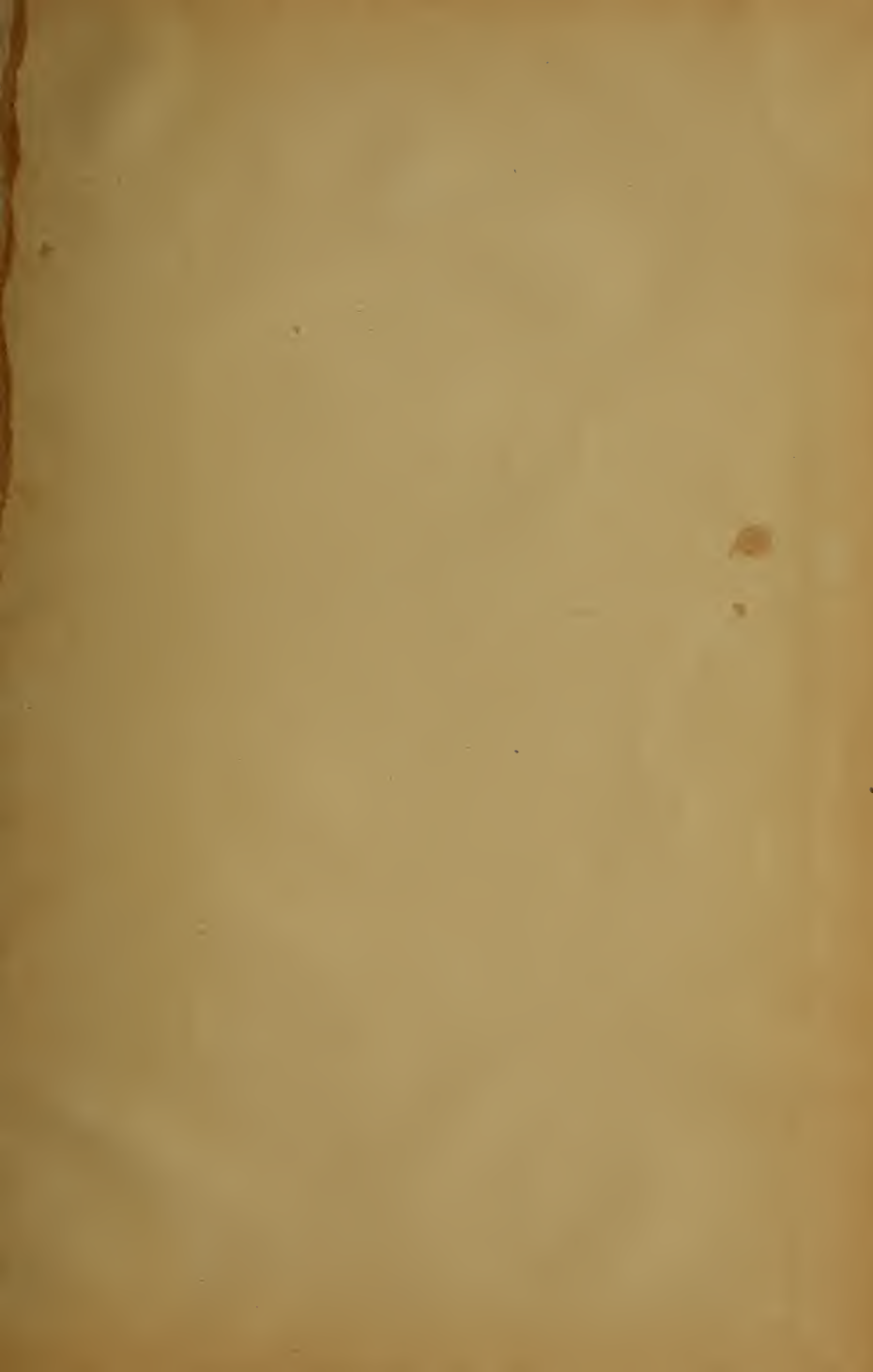
They, being deluded as they are, do not realize the fact that these roads and also other great aggregations of wealth have been confiscated from them by means of legal-robbery and that to assert their true manhood, they must demand their rights, demand that Uncle Sam recover, or replevy this stolen wealth.

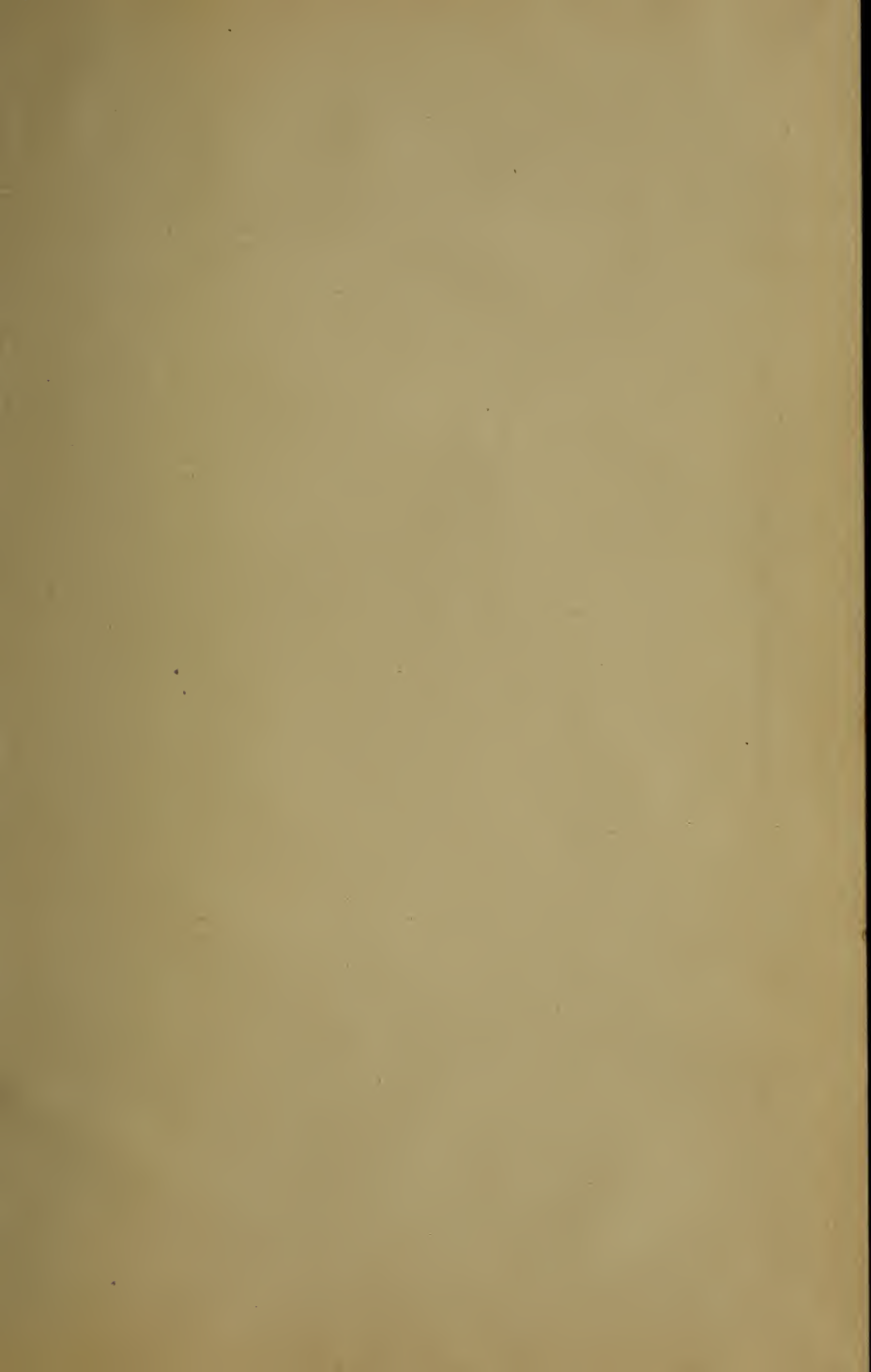
They do not realize the fact that for a man to stultify himself by giving a thief a hundred dollars for the return of a thirty dollar watch would be only a parallel to the government buying the railroads as suggested. They do not realize that to carry out such a proposition would be, not only to stultify themselves, but also a crime against future generations.

However, kind reader, if a perusal of "Aggressive Common-Sense" has served in any measure to convert you to the plain truths concerning the situation, and you wish to do your part toward spreading the light among your own near friends, write for specially reduced prices on lots of one dozen or more.

Address: E. E. HARDING, TRACY, MINNESOTA.







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